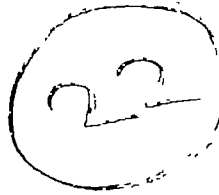


BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY
VOLUME XXI. NUMBER 1. MARCH 1957



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TWO ENGLISH MAPS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

TWO rare Elizabethan printed maps have recently been added to the collections by purchase.

The map of Kent drawn from his surveys by Philip Symonson, Surveyor of the Rochester Bridge Estates,¹ and engraved in 1596, may be considered the most accomplished specimen of English county cartography before the eighteenth century. It exemplifies the skill of Tudor surveyors in new techniques employing instruments for observation of angles and indirect measurement of distances. The title of the map reads: 'A New Description of Kent Divided into the fyue Lathes thereof: and subdivided into Baylywiekes; and Hundredes; with the parishe Churches. . . . All which, for better understandinge, are distinguished with varyetye of coloures. . . . By the travayle of Phil. Symonson of Rochester gent: 1596.' The map measures 21 × 31 in., and its scale is just under two (customary) miles to an inch, about double that of Saxton's map of Kent.

In this map, as its title asserts, 'the nature of the soyle (whether playne, hyllye, or wooddye) is more diligently observed: and the tractes of Ryuers, Rylles, and creekes, with the trendinge of the sea-shore be more naturally shadowed and traced than heretofore. . . .' The claim is reasonable, for the map excels in its delineation of physical character. Both the morphology and the hydrographic features of the county are clearly depicted. Although Symonson employs the conventional 'sugarloaf' symbol for hills, the chalk and ragstone scarps are well defined. Rivers, even the smallest, are drawn in great detail. For the coasts Symonson may have drawn upon contemporary English charts;² and he himself had made detailed plans of Dover and Rye harbours.³

The human geography of the county is not less generously illustrated. Pictorial symbols are used for cities, towns, castles, and parishes; five different church symbols are distinguished.⁴ Symonson's is the second English printed map to show roads.⁵ These were not recorded by Saxton; nor did he plot the boundaries of lathes, bailiwicks, and hundreds, which are marked on Symonson's map with a numerical key. The title's promise of colour, for their better differentiation, is not fulfilled in the early impressions of the map which survive.

Symonson's map was engraved on two plates by the instrument-maker Charles Whitwell.⁶ The example acquired by the Museum is the only known complete impression from the plates in their earliest state, without the mapseller's imprint. The Royal Geographical Society possesses an impression of the east sheet only in this state.⁷ Some six later states are known bearing the imprint of Peter Stent and of subsequent printsellers who owned the plates; the latest impression was published by Robert Sayer in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁸

The map of the Isle of Wight by Baptista Boazio dated 1591 is the first separate printed map of the island. The only known impression has been

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purchased by the Trustees, with generous help from the Friends of the National Libraries.

The map, which measures $10 \times 13\frac{1}{2}$ in., is entitled 'The true description or draffte of that famous Ile of Wight with some parte of the Englishe or Britaine coast and inwarde countreye of Hampshire and Sussex: . . . Made by Baptista Boazio 1591.' The engraving, to which contemporary colouring has been added, is distinguished, and may perhaps be attributed to Jodocus Hondius, who was in London at this date and in whose engraved work the border and other decorative details of Boazio's map can be paralleled. The unfinished state of the scale, below the Royal arms, suggests that the impression may be an early proof from the plate.

Positive evidence is lacking on the occasion of Boazio's map and its relation to other early maps of the Isle of Wight. It bears no resemblance to the (apparently earlier) manuscript map in Lord Burghley's atlas (Royal MS. 18. D. III, ff. 17-18) nor to that of William White engraved for Speed's *Theatre* in 1611, which are on a larger scale. Both in its outline and in its toponymy, however, Boazio's map shows a close affinity with that published in Mercator's *Atlas* in 1595. Mercator's maps of the Isle of Wight and the Channel Islands are plainly related to those in John Norden's manuscript *Chorographical Discription* which he presented to the Queen in 1595.⁹ Boazio was no surveyor but practised as a compiler of maps for engraving or for official use.¹⁰ It now appears probable that these three maps of the Isle of Wight—by Boazio, Norden, and Mercator—derive from a common original, no longer extant, to which Boazio's map is the nearest in time. The defences of the island, to which there are frequent references in the state papers in 1590 and 1591, were at this date a matter of concern to the Queen's ministers and to the Captain of the Isle of Wight, Sir George Carey; and it may be suggested that the lost original of Boazio's map was a 'plot' drawn in connexion with these projects by a military engineer such as Richard Popinjay, Surveyor of the Works at Portsmouth.¹¹

R. A. SKELTON

¹ Details of Symonson's life are given by H. Hannen in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxxi (1915). In the same journal are studies of the map of Kent by H. Hannen, xxx (1914); by E. G. Box, xxxix (1927); and by G. M. Livett, xlix (1937).

² Such as those of the Thames estuary by Robert Norman (Hatfield House maps, III. 37a), and of SE. England, probably by William Borough (Cotton MS. Aug. I. i. 17).

³ Dover, 1577 (P.R.O., S.P. 12/120/24, M.P.F. 122); Rye, 1594 (Rye Museum).

⁴ For the accurate distinction between church types, see H. Hannen, op. cit., xxx. 8-9.

⁵ It was preceded only by Norden's Middlesex, 1593. Norden's map of Kent, from which was derived the map engraved by W. Kip in 1605 for Camden's *Britannia* (1607), is now lost.

⁶ Whitwell had engraved Norden's map of Surrey, 1594.

⁷ Reproduced, with a memoir by E. Heawood, in *English County Maps in the Collection of the Royal Geographical Society* (1932).

⁸ The successive states are described by G. M. Livett, loc. cit. 273-5. The issue by Sayer (not noted by Livett) must be dated between 1751 and 1770.

⁹ *B.M. Quarterly*, xxi (1951), 61; also E. Lynam, *The Mapmaker's Art* (1952), 69-70.

¹⁰ Boazio's cartographic activity is described by Lynam, op. cit., 75-78.

¹¹ Several plans of Portsmouth and the Solent, drawn by Popinjay c. 1574-87, are in the P.R.O. (classes S.P. 12 and S.P. 46).

COLLATING MACHINE

THE British Museum has recently acquired a 'collating machine', a recently developed device for comparing different copies or impressions of books. The machine was originally developed by Dr. Charlton Hinman of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, and this is the fifth such instrument to be produced and the first to come into operation outside America.

It is well known that books printed before the end of the seventeenth century were frequently corrected while they were in course of being printed. Generally speaking, printers could not afford to leave pages of type standing to await correction, and they preferred to start printing off the sheets and to make the necessary changes at the press, even though as a result only the copies of the sheet which remained to be printed would be correct. When this took place with every sheet and the sheets were gathered at random into books, the chances of any copy being correct throughout are small. One of the most important tasks in establishing an author's text is therefore to discover the corrected state of every sheet; a task not only exceedingly laborious but also difficult to perform with complete accuracy, especially where, as with Ben Jonson, every detail of punctuation must be observed.

The Folger Library contains 79 copies of the first Folio of Shakespeare, assembled in order that such a work of comparison could be undertaken; and it is no wonder that Dr. Hinman, confronted with the task of comparing in detail some 75,000 large double-columned folio pages, should seek some way of easing the labour. The results have been spectacular; over half the task has been completed in the first eighteen months, several hundred new variant readings have been discovered, and evidence has been brought to light which overturns some of the accepted premisses on which bibliographical study of the Folio and contemporary printing was based. (Cf. *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vi. 3, 1955, pp. 259-73.)

The value of the machine is not limited to books of this early period, however. After 1700 it became increasingly common to keep type standing (or more recently to make stereotype or electrotypes plates) in order to print new impressions. These may not be announced as such; they may not be readily distinguishable from the original, or they may call themselves new editions. In all these cases it is common for changes to be made in the text, and the collating machine will not only detect these but frequently reveal that reprinting has taken place even where there are no textual changes. It will also be of service in the study of engraved material, including maps and music, where different states of the plates exist. The material to be compared must in every case be substantially identical; the machine cannot compare one edition with another.

The principle of the machine is simple; by optical means the images of two

copies of a book are superimposed, page by page. They are then displayed alternately; if the two are identical, the operator will appear to see only a single motionless image, but if there is any change it will call attention to itself by movement at the place where the type has been disturbed. The machine is a large structure some 6 feet high with book supports for the two copies, one on either side of the operator. These are illuminated, either together or alternately, by powerful lamps, and a series of mirrors superimpose their images on a final mirror facing the operator. Since the images are now reduced in size by the distance they have travelled, they are viewed through a binocular eyepiece which can also provide considerable magnification—this is invaluable for studying damaged letters. The alternate presentation of the two images is effected entirely by switching the lamps which illuminate the copies; this is carried out automatically by a device which varies the speed of alternation at will. The other controls are all designed to achieve the best possible superimposition of images.

Department of Printed Books

LETTERS FROM THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII

AN interesting group of sixteenth-century private letters has recently been acquired by the Department of Manuscripts (Add. MS. 48965). It comprises 43 letters, addressed for the most part to Henry, Lord Clifford (d. 1523), and his son, also Henry, Lord Clifford until he was created Earl of Cumberland in 1525. Very few of the letters are dated, but from internal evidence most of them can be fixed, or approximately fixed, to dates within the period 1515-40. The Cliffords were at this time one of the most powerful families in the north of England, though their influence was limited by their long-standing feud with the Dacres, and it was only on the final extinction of the latter during the reign of Elizabeth I that they gradually acquired the pre-eminent position in the north exemplified by the celebrated Lady Anne Clifford in the following century. The writers of the present letters are nearly all persons of note, and include the heads of various religious houses in the north of England with which the Cliffords had connexions, such as Byland, Carlisle, Furness, Holm Cultram, Mountgrace, Roch, Shap, and St. Mary's, York. Though much of the correspondence is of a business character, there are some attractive side-lights on the state of the monasteries and the character of their inmates at this critical period. John Wilson, last Prior of the Carthusian house of Mountgrace, writes repeatedly about extensive building works then in progress—details which are especially interesting because of the architectural study which has been devoted

to the considerable existing remains of the House: 'I thynk ther be as money stones hewen as will fynnych the houses, and I thynk best at [= that] the walle that shall goe aboute the gardyn be made with archelers [ashlar] stone, for elles I cannot deuise os it may be made sure', he writes. And again: 'I haue ij M [2000] archlers hewyn, & soo we tare of nothing bot of lime, wheroff I make all the haste that is possible for me, for I can gitt noo cariage for the stone for no money, be cawsse the waye is fulle [foul] & vpe a grete hille, & poore men[s] catell is so waike thei dar nott ventour, albeit I make the best shifft with our owne that I can.' Another passage reads 'nowe I muste go by more ledde, for I thynke to haue iij sellis thekyt [thatched, i.e. roofed] with lede a fore wynter, also I muste pay for ccxxx wanscots [wainscots, oak boards] of this mony x li.' Wilson may not have been of the stuff of martyrs—he took the oaths and surrendered his House in 1539—but his sincere concern for his Order cannot be questioned, and when a chaplain of Clifford wished to enter the House, he did not hesitate to express his misgivings frankly to his powerful patron: 'Os [as] to your chaplane, I like hym well, and truste his calle be of god. Albeit all thing that apperith good cumyth not onelie of god, wherfor wee in our ordre shuld receyue none with owt perfett knowlege at thei haue long tyme contynued in desire therto. Wherin, if they fynd them selfe fyrme & stable, that is a speciall tokyn at they be called of tholie gost; & for lake of due probacion in the premisses haith grete inconueniens fallen in our religion, os your lordship knowith; & besides this, our religion is strait, wherfor it is vere necessarye that he wich thinkith hymselfe called of god therto shuld exersice hym a yere or two in the straitnes theroff os in ffasting, weering [wearying?], waking, and in solitarie liffing, wich is hard for wor[l]dlie men.' After these spiritual warnings, he turns to the practical difficulties of the case: 'Moreouer, my Lord, wee haue bot two celles voide, & for thone wee haue promysed to receyue shortlie affter thfest of thepiphanie a worshipfull man Sir William Maleverey, & he is brether childre, & also he is both comissarie and officialle toth Bushop of Rochester, & may spend better then xli. benefesse. His habbett is made redye for hym. And thoder celle is not perfetlie finished—ther was a monke in it a yere & more, and be cause I thought it nedfull to be mended putt hym in another celle; albeit I had promised it to M^r. William Stapilton, who I here say is departed from this wretched liffe, whos soule Jesus pardone; and affter hym wee graunted the supprior of Burton abbaye, and then the parson of sancte Saueyour in york, and then a yong prest wich was shaven with husse [us] v yere sence, & had such temptacion when he was novace that he wold nott tare, & soo departed; who had meruelousse grete troble affter, os he saith bot onely by [= except by] miracle of our blissed lady he had loost his witte; & thus he is graunted if he tarre to thos be serued wich wee promised be ffore. And yesterday I receyuyd a letter from a graduett of Cambrige wich saith he has a graunte in my predecessours tyme with diuersse other that makith grete instance for the same

Cristofer & Richard Sigiswik,³ and to brynge them with them, ore elles to pull downe their houses and spoill them off their goodes. A nother company goth fore my lord latymere ore his sone Mr. Danby with other in those quarters. And the third company goth to Barnard castell to bryng to them my cousyn george Bowes & his two uncles. My lord my bedfelow is this nyght at helbek hall & wulbe with youre lordshipe at Skipton in as conveyent spead as he can maik, to tak suche parte as youre Lordshipe doth. And I wull come this mornyng towards Katelwell & tary there off my bedfelowe and wold come with hym to Skipton iff ye thynk it good. And this nyght I haue sent my litell boy with his nurse vnto one poore mans housse, to be kept priwy there to [= until] we knowe forther. And what youre lordships mynd is in the premysses, I wull hertly besuche you to send it to Catelwell with this berere. Thus tholy gost preserue youre good lordship with my lady my mother & all yours in Comfort. at bolton this setterday before day.

Youre humblest daughter
Kateryn Scrope.

The date of this letter can, happily, be fixed by comparison with a letter from Scrope himself to Cumberland,⁴ in which he says that, learning that the commons were coming to Bolton that very day, either to swear him or to take him, he was leaving his wife and house that same morning and going abroad until their intentions should be more fully known;⁵ and he begs Cumberland to communicate his advice by letter to his wife. This letter is dated at Bolton, on St. Wilfrid's day [Thursday, 12 October 1536]; Catherine Scrope's letter was therefore written on 'Setterday', 14 October 1536.

The letter is of interest not merely as a relic of the famous insurrection, but from the corroboration which it gives to a remarkable document⁶ known as the Confession of Christopher Aske. In May 1537 Christopher Aske,⁷ brother of Robert Aske the 'Grand Captain' of the Pilgrimage, made a long statement, no doubt under interrogation, of his own conduct during the revolt. In this statement he claimed to have put Skipton Castle in such a state of defence that Cumberland was enabled to defy the rebels, who thereupon 'purposed to take my lady Eleanor's grace [wife of Cumberland's son Henry Clifford, and herself a niece of the king], and her young son, two of my Lord's [i.e. Cumberland's] daughters', and other gentlewomen then at Bolton Abbey, and lead them before the host at a renewed assault on the castle, or, if not, to 'violate and enforce them with Knaves, unto my Lord's great discomfort'. Learning of these designs, Aske states that he daringly rescued the ladies and secretly conveyed them into the castle, apparently towards the end of October.

This highly coloured story has been utilized by Froude and other historians, but in some quarters⁸ it has been treated with scepticism. It has been urged, for example, that the Lady Eleanor was not married to Henry Clifford until the summer of 1537, and that the reference to her and her young son must therefore be an anachronism. But Dr. G. C. Williamson⁹ has shown that the marriage in

fact took place at midsummer 1535, and the objection is thus no longer valid. The present letter, moreover, confirms that at least one of Cumberland's daughters was at Bolton, and in danger from the insurgents, at the time stated. And though Catherine Scrope makes no mention of any other refugees at Bolton, it is quite possible that they did not arrive there until after the date of her letter.

Other letters in this small but select correspondence bring us into touch with various members of the great families of the North, the Percys; Dacres, Scropes, Stanleys, and so on, and the frequent references to Wolsëy and Cromwell remind us of the many threads which the king's ministers held in their hands; while, at the centre, one senses the grim figure of the monarch himself, and the references to his 'dread commands' enable us to picture the awe which he inspired.

T. C. SKEAT

¹ The letter is clearly signed 'William. Byrbanke', but the internal evidence leaves no doubt as to the writer, and the hand is the same as that of, e.g., the autograph drafts of Byrbanke in Cotton-MS. Vitellius B. ii, ff. 110, 113. Byrbanke was an important personage in the north-west of England, and was Archdeacon of Carlisle from 1520 onwards. Cf. *V.C.H. Cumberland*, ii, pp. 46-47.

² Presumably her younger son Henry, then about three years of age.

³ Perhaps the aged and infirm 'Mr. Siggiswick' who served for a time, with other elderly gentlemen, on the secretariat of the insurgents at Jervaux, cf. M. H. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, i, p. 211.

⁴ Summarized in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xi, 1536, no. 677.

⁵ He was unsuccessful in evading the rebels, being taken and sworn not later than 17 October, cf. M. H. Dodds, op. cit., i, p. 208.

⁶ Summarized in *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xii, 1, 1537, no. 1186. See also M. H. Dodds, op. cit., i, pp. 210-11.

⁷ The Askes were related to the Cliffords, cf. T. D. Whitaker, *History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, ed. Morant, 1878, p. 335. Christopher Aske was employed by Cumberland as some kind of bailiff or agent.

⁸ e.g. T. D. Whitaker, op. cit., pp. 334-5.

⁹ *Lady Anne Clifford*, p. 20, note 12. The note on p. 18, which still gives the formerly accepted date of 1537, should presumably have been cancelled.

THE SALVIN HORAE

BY presenting to the Department of Manuscripts the Salvin Horae (now Add. MS. 48985) Sir Chester Beatty has placed at the disposal of students in this country one of the finest examples of English thirteenth-century illumination: in every way a magnificent gift.

The manuscript takes its name from the Salvin family, of Croxdale, Co. Durham, to whom it belonged from at least the late seventeenth century until 1904, when it was bought by Henry Yates Thompson; and it went to Sir Chester Beatty at the Yates Thompson sale of 23 March 1920. It was described for Mr. Yates Thompson by Dr. M. R. James, and his description was reprinted, with some additions, by Dr. E. G. Millar for Sir Chester Beatty.¹ The manuscript contains the Hours of the Virgin, of Sarum use (f. 1^b); the Hours of the Holy

Ghost (f. 46^b); and the Hours of the Trinity (f. 92^b; ending imperfectly at f. 128^b).² Among surviving Sarum Books of Hours it is conspicuous for its early date, for its size ($12\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ in.), and for the dignified splendour of its decoration, the scheme of which is more familiar in Psalters than in Books of Hours proper. This decoration consists of a full-page historiated initial at the beginning of each group of Hours; twenty historiated initials occupying the space of nine or ten lines at the beginning of the hour services; three small historiated initials; nearly 300 decorated initials about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. square; and line-fillings, a few of which (ff. 58^b, 59) are in the form of animals and grotesques. The first full-page initial (f. 1^b; Pl. 1) contains a Tree of Jesse in which the forebears of Christ are flanked by the figures of ten Apostles and by eight scenes connected with the Nativity, and the second (f. 46^b) contains four scenes (Ascension, Pentecost, *Noli me tangere*, the Incredulity of St. Thomas). These two are for the most part intact, though the first has been rather rubbed and the border of the second seems to have been left unfinished. The third (f. 92^b), which was presumably painted on a piece of thin vellum and then pasted down on the verso of an ordinary leaf, has vanished, but its main outlines can still be traced, since the areas covered by gold leaf show up as dark and the painted areas as light.³ The text reads 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende' and the initial D seems to have contained eight or nine roundels formed by foliate scrolls. A figure with hands raised and one leg drawn back is clearly visible to the left of the centre roundel in the bottom row. Dr. James was reminded of the St. John in a crucifixion, but the posture seems unsuitable and St. John is almost invariably placed on the other side of the Cross. The roundel next above probably contained a figure subject, but in the rest the foliage seems hardly to leave enough room, for it makes two or even three coils; and in the bottom roundel on the left is what seems to be a much larger figure clambering *through* the foliage.⁴ The historiated initials of the second order contain scenes of the Passion, illustrating the Hours of the Virgin, and scenes (mostly martyrdoms) from the lives of the saints, illustrating the other two sets of Hours. The three small historiated initials show a monk birching a penitent (f. 2), three clerks singing and a woman tolling bells (f. 10^b), and Pentecost (f. 29). The miniatures are by two artists. The first—and much the better—worked on the first three gatherings only, ending with the two initials on f. 29. His work is distinguished by the lively plasticity and rich colouring of the draperies and by the calligraphic quality of his draughtsmanship in the faces, particularly of the larger figures (ff. 7, 29), which he executed by drawing in black ink on a plain ground (in f. 1^b he used a touch of red on the cheeks). The second artist used rather dim colours and his draperies are comparatively flat and static, having fewer and calmer folds. In drawing the features his line was intermittent, even scratchy; and unlike the first artist he added a brownish shade for modelling and white for the highlights on brows, nose, and eyeballs.

In the absence of the kalendar, the only guide to the home of the *Salvin Horae* is the inclusion among the numerous *Memoriae* in *Lauds of the Virgin* of one for a bishop named Robert (f. 20^b), described as 'pastor precipuus' and 'gloriosus pontifex . . . robustus propugnator . . . et infatigabilis predicator'. Dr. James believed that the bishop in question was Robert Grosseteste, d. 1253, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235. Though he was never in fact canonized, Grosseteste was revered as a saint from the moment of his death and attempts to have him canonized continued until at least 1307, with the support of persons connected with his diocese and, among others, of the University of Oxford, of which he had been appointed 'magister scholarum', that is to say chancellor, in 1214.⁵ If the precedence taken by St. Francis over St. Benedict in the *Memoriae* means anything, it may be a reference to Grosseteste's devotion to the Franciscans: he became their lecturer at Oxford in 1229 or 1230 and bequeathed his library to their house there.⁶ The possibility that the manuscript was produced not only for but in the diocese of Lincoln, perhaps at Lincoln itself, was strengthened when Sir Sydney Cockerell noticed the strong iconographical and stylistic similarities which exist between it and a *Psalter*, now B.M. Add. MS. 38116, which he exhibited side by side with it at the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition in 1908.⁷ The kalendar of this *Psalter*, which is of much poorer quality than the *Horae* and seems to be rather later in date, includes the feasts of the Translation (6 October) and Deposition (17 November) of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. Both entries were written by the first hand and the Translation occurred in 1280, so the *Psalter* must belong to the closing years of the thirteenth century.

It may well be that both manuscripts were produced in Lincoln, the *Horae* after 1262 (see note 7 above), the *Psalter* after 1280. But for the *Horae*, at any rate, another possibility suggests itself. Since it exhibits none of the features, such as marginal grotesques and naturalistic foliage, which are the hallmarks of the 'East Anglian' style and which would, if they were present, confirm the liturgical evidence (such as it is), we may at least entertain the idea that it was produced outside the eastern counties. Sir Sydney Cockerell, in *The Work of W. de Brailes*,⁸ refers to the *Salvin Horae* and 'a large initial (perhaps by the same artist)' in a *Psalter* in the Bodleian, MS. Laud Lat. 114, f. 148, as 'later examples in the Brailes tradition'. If the *Horae* is compared with the *Psalter*, New College MS. 322,⁹ which is partly by de Brailes's hand, similarities are at once apparent. The design of the two Trees of Jesse is much the same—Sir Sydney speaks of 'circular segmental, and elliptical compartments, suggestive of the framework of coloured windows of the period'; the treatment of Jesse's blanket is plastic and angular in both cases. The features of the small figures in the Tree of the *Horae* have something of the alert, ironical expression of de Brailes's figures.¹⁰ The use in the margins of the *Psalter* of elongated dragons with foliate tails and of scrolls on rectangular panels with gable-like projections at the top is echoed throughout the

Horae. The style of the first artist of the Horae is of course less 'Romanesque' and monumental than the style of de Brailes, and his treatment of the faces in his larger figures (ff. 7, 29; see above) seems to betray a French influence of which de Brailes was quite innocent. The second artist of the Horae, with his flat draperies, is still less 'Romanesque' than the first and his work has much in common, as far as draperies and faces are concerned, with the small group of manuscripts, perhaps to be connected with Canterbury, which Dr. Millar has formed round the Bible written by William of Devon, B.M. Royal MS. I D. i.¹¹ These manuscripts seem to date from the middle of the century and in them French influence is immediately noticeable. But there is still much to be said for the view that the Salvin Horae is in the tradition of W. de Brailes. Now Mr. Graham Pollard¹² has recently made a good case for identifying 'W. de Brailes', as he signed himself in the manuscripts, with the William de Brailles who is mentioned in five Oxford documents, c. 1230—c. 1260. He was a resident in Cat Street, where he associated with the large community of illuminators who seem to have had their headquarters there, though he is not himself described as an illuminator. If this identification is correct, as it may well be, the explanation of the affinities between W. de Brailes's work and the Salvin Horae is perhaps that the Horae was itself produced in Oxford, where his influence will have been at its strongest. That an admirer of Robert Grosseteste should have commissioned such a manuscript in Oxford is well within the bounds of possibility, for Grosseteste had been not only the first chancellor of the University but bishop of the diocese in which Oxford then lay. Slight though the evidence is, the hypothesis that the Salvin Horae and its relations were produced in and for the diocese of Lincoln, not at Lincoln itself but at Oxford, seems reasonable enough to be worth disproving.

Whatever its precise origins, the Salvin Horae is a great work of art, and in separating it from the rest of his collection, for which he has built a home in Dublin, and presenting it to the Museum Sir Chester Beatty has conferred a great benefit on the country in which it was made.¹³

T. J. BROWN

¹¹ The manuscript was No. LXXX in the Yates Thompson collection and Western MS. 60 in Sir Chester Beatty's. See *A Descriptive Catalogue of Twenty Illuminated Manuscripts (Nos. LXXV—XCIV) . . . in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson*, 1907, pp. 39–44; *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson*, vol. iv, 1914, pls. xxiv–xxviii (ff. 1^b, 2; 29; 32^b; 37^b; 46^b); Eric George Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: a Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, vol. ii, 1930, pp. 70–75 and frontispiece (f. 46^b; in colour), pls. cxxiii–cxxvi (ff. 29, 32^b, 37^b, 59);

Yates Thompson sale-cat. (Sotheby's), 23 Mar. 1920, lot 35, pls. 7, 8 (ff. 29, 46^b). See also Dr. E. G. Millar's *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, 1926, pp. 64, 65, pls. 97, 98 (ff. 29, 46^b).

¹² Single leaves are missing after ff. 53, 92.

¹³ A photograph, taken without the aid of ultra-violet light and a fine example of the skill of Mr. D. S. Lyon, the Museum's Principal Photographer, is available in the Manuscripts Students' Room (Neg. 9949).

¹⁴ In Add. MS. 38116, which is closely related to the Salvin Horae (see below), the full-page

initial at f. 14^b contains just such a mixture of figure scenes and inhabited scrolls. The black mark, suggesting a seated figure, in the middle roundel on the left is apparently caused by a stain on the surface of the vellum.

⁵ For a short account of the attempts at canonization see Dr. J. H. Srawley's *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, 1951 (Lincoln Minster Pamphlets, No. 7), pp. 30–32.

⁶ The Memoriae include St. Edmund Rich (d. 1240, canonized 1246) and St. Richard of Chichester (d. 1253), whose canonization in 1262 may perhaps be regarded as a *terminus post quem* for the Salvin Horae.

⁷ B.F.A.C., *Catalogue*, 1908, No. 45, pl. 42 (ff. 12^b, 13); the Horae is No. 46, pl. 43 (f. 46^b). The Psalter came to the Museum as MS. III in the Huth Bequest and has been described and reproduced in the following official publications; *Catalogue of the Huth Bequest*, 1912, pp. 2–4, pls. 2 (ff. 9^b, 10, 11, 11^b), 3 (f. 35); *Schools of Illumination*, part II, 1915, pls. 12^c, d (ff. 8^b, 13), 13 (f. 14^b); *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, ser. iv, 1928, pls. xxi (f. 11^b), xxii (f. 119^b). See also Dr. E. G. Millar's *English Illuminated Manuscripts from the Xth to the XIIIth Century*, pp. 64, 65; O. Elfrida Saunders's *English Illumination*, 1928, p. 81, pls. 88^a (f. 13^b), 88^b (f. 119^b). The closeness of the relationship between the two manuscripts is particularly apparent from a comparison of the iconography of the scourging of Christ and the martyrdom of St. Andrew (Horae, f. 37^b, 54; Psalter, ff. 11, 12^b), and the design of the full-page initials at Horae f. 46^b and Psalter f. 119^b. The draperies and faces of the Psalter are in a rather coarse version of the style of the second artist in the Horae.

⁸ The volume which he presented to the Roxburghe Club, 1930.

⁹ Cockerell, op. cit., pp. 7–11, pls. II–XIII.

¹⁰ We may also compare the left-hand figure in the left-hand roundel of the bottom row in the Horae (f. 1^b) with the left-hand figure of the Trinity in Sir Sydney Cockerell's own Psalter, f. 111 (op. cit., pl. xiv^e).

¹¹ The other manuscripts are a Book of Hours, B.M. Egerton MS. 1151, and the Cuerden Psalter, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. 756. See Dr. Millar's remarks in his 'Fresh Materials for the Study of English Illumination', in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, 1954, pp. 288, 289, pls. 235, 236 (Morgan MS. 756, ff. 11, 8).

¹² 'William de Brailles', in the *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. v, no. 4 (Oct. 1955), pp. 202–9.

¹³ The address of the Chester Beatty Library, which though a purely private concern is open to the general public on one afternoon a week, is 20 Shrewsbury Road, Dublin, and Sir Chester Beatty's Librarian is Mr. J. V. S. Wilkinson, the distinguished orientalist. The richness of the oriental section, particularly in Persian and Indian painting, is well known, as are the Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri. It is less well known that the Library contains over 100 Western manuscripts, some of which have been added since the publication of Dr. Millar's catalogue. Fifteen of the finest were deposited in the Department of Manuscripts from October 1953 to April 1955 and thirty-four were exhibited at Trinity College, Dublin, during 1955. See *A Loan Collection of Western Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Sir Chester Beatty Exhibited in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin*, 1955; 8 pls.

A MISIDENTIFIED MANUSCRIPT

MS. Egerton 874 is briefly described in the *Catalogue of Additions . . . 1836–1840* as follows: 'S. Augustini Expositio in Apocalypsin; in fine mutila. Codex membranaceus, sec. ix. Olim pertinebat ad monasterium S. Augustini Cantuariæ. In Quarto minori.' The attribution to Augustine of Hippo was not disputed by Zangemeister,¹ who, however, assigned its date to the tenth century. More recently, Neil Ker has listed the manuscript in his *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, with the title 'Augustinus', recording the St. Augustine's, Canterbury

press-mark, D. iiii G^a. ii [?.iii], which appears on f. 2, and giving the fifteenth-century catalogue identification number, 345.²

In fact, the *Expositio in Apocalypsin* is not by Augustine at all, but by St. Caesarius of Arles. The detailed proofs of this were given in 1933, by Dom Germain Morin in an article in the *Revue Bénédictine*, though Dom Morin generously acknowledged that he had been anticipated in this attribution to Caesarius by the almost completely forgotten French scholar, J.-B. Morel, who died in 1772.³ As it happened, Morin's views had long been accessible to English readers, for they were mentioned by Professor Souter in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* in 1913.⁴ For some reason, although the article was noted in the manuscript itself, the catalogue was not amended accordingly.

Egerton 874 is a volume of 111 folios, measuring 8 × 6½ in. and written in a Caroline minuscule. There is no reason to reject its original dating to the ninth century, which is accepted by Morin in his edition.⁵ The *Expositio* occupies ff. 2-67, 70-110. On ff. 1^a and 1^b are two hymns: 'Chorus noue hierusalem. Nouam meli dulcedinem', and 'Te lucis auctor personent huius caterue carmina', both written in a late eleventh- to twelfth-century hand. Between ff. 67^b and 69^b is a gap in the text of the *Expositio* from 'foris erit omnis homo' to 'Item sequentia. In lectione, quae recita est . . .' (pp. 249-50 of Morin's edition), and the space has been filled by a hymn to St. Augustine [of Canterbury], with neums, beginning (f. 68^b): 'O uere uirum beatum, O uere magnificum' and ending (f. 69^b): 'Gaude gregorio pater augustine magistro. Gaude gregori de fructu messis aluni. quesumus ambo pii nobis estote patroni.' Below this, on f. 69^b, is a charming sketch of a head, possibly of Augustine himself, in brown ink, with light touches of mauve and red. Souter drew attention to the hymn and the drawing in his article, assuming that they were contemporary with the manuscript. However, an inquiry on this from Dr. H. M. Bannister, the musical palaeographer, produced a decided reply from the Department of Manuscripts that the date cannot be earlier than the eleventh to twelfth century.⁶ Finally, on f. 111 are various prayers, including that attributed to St. Gregory the Great, printed in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 101, col. 1400. A note, in a hand not earlier than the nineteenth century, draws attention to this prayer, and refers to MS. Harley 2965, f. 17, where the whole text appears.

It may be remarked that, whatever views we may hold about the literary or theological value of the *Expositio in Apocalypsin*, it is a matter of satisfaction that one of the most important manuscripts of it should be in the British Museum.

GERALD BONNER

¹ Bericht . . . über die Durchforschung der Bibliotheken Englands (1877), p. 36.

² Ker, op. cit., p. 28.

³ Rev. Bénéd. xlv (June 1933), pp. 43-61.

⁴ J.T.S. xiv, pp. 338-58.

⁵ Sancti Caesarii Episcopi Arelatensis Opera Omnia, ii (1942), p. 209.

⁶ Souter, op. cit., p. 578.

A DRAWING BY 'ATHENIAN' STUART FOR THE PAINTED ROOM AT SPENCER HOUSE

IN 1755 the Scottish architect James 'Athenian' Stuart (b. 1713: d. 1788) returned to England. He brought back with him a vast store of knowledge about ancient art and antiquities which he had amassed during his thirteen years' stay in Italy and Greece, and in due course became—with his fellow countrymen, the brothers Adam—one of the founders of the great neo-classic revival of English architecture during the later eighteenth century. Like the Adams, Stuart was not only an architect but also a decorator, and in this capacity painted a number of interiors with his own hand. Among these is the Painted Room at Spencer House, St. James's, which Stuart executed for John Spencer, later 1st Earl Spencer.¹

Arthur Young, who saw the room in 1768 describes it as follows:²

The next room is to me a phoenix, it is called the painted one; 24 by 22: on one side is a bow-window ornamented with the most exquisitely carved and gilt pillars you can conceive, the walls and ceiling [*sic*] are painted in compartments by Mr. *Steuart*, in the most beautiful taste; even the very scrolls and festoons of the slightest sort, which are run between the square and circular compartments, are executed with the minutest elegance: the ground of the whole is green; and the general effect more pleasing than is easily conceived. Nothing can be lighter or more beautiful than the chimney-piece; the frieze contains a most exquisite painting representing a clandestine marriage,³ which, without variety or glare of colours, has all the harmony of their utmost power: nothing can be finer than the drapery, which is designed with the justest taste, displaying the form of every limb through it in a most beautiful manner. The soft expression of the naked, and the beauty of the heads are very great. I should observe, that two of the small compartments of the wall are landscapes let into it with no other than the painted frame of the divisions: one represents a water-fall, and the other a bridge over a stream, both fine. The frames of the tables, sofas, stands, &c. &c. are all carved and gilt in the same taste as the other ornaments of the room, all with a profusion of richness, but with the utmost elegance. Remember to observe the peacock's feathers over one of the glasses, the turtles on a wreath of flowers, and the magpies on bunches of grapes: they are very beautiful, and the deception of the first extraordinary; the bold relief of such slight strokes does honour to the pencil of the artist. The looking-glass window is a piece of taste, and has an happy effect.

Though the style of the painted decoration would have been regarded at the time as strictly 'Pompeian', in reality it derives rather from the Raphaelesque interpretation of antique Roman painting as realized in the *Loggia* at the Vatican. This is particularly noticeable in the heavy foliated scrollwork on the pilasters.

Recently the Department of Prints and Drawings acquired Stuart's original drawing for the north-west wall of the room. It is carried out in pen and ink with touches of watercolour on a sheet of paper measuring 28.3 × 40.7 cm. (11½ × 16½ in.). On a tablet above the door appears the date of execution, MDCCLVIII

(i.e. 1759), which hitherto was not known, and the pilaster on the extreme right is inscribed *The Columns* [are 17" Diam/ & 14" [14']. 2" High/ Mod 8½. Both in technique and general appearance it has affinities with some of the decorative projects, also in pen and watercolour, emanating from the office of the brothers Adam and now in the Soane Museum; but these actually date from about ten or more years later. Stuart's interior at Spencer House is important, therefore, as one of the first painted rooms of its kind in England.

Though the layout of the wall in the present drawing corresponds in the essentials with that as finally painted by Stuart, in detail it differs considerably, as will be seen when comparing Pls. 11 *a* and 11 *b*; and certainly the preliminary design is lighter and more elegant than the finished work.

No other drawings for decorative schemes by Stuart are known; but in the Royal Institute of British Architects there are a sketch-book of his, dating from the time of his stay in Italy, and a series of drawings in body-colour for illustrations to his famous publication with Nicholas Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, 1762-89.

E. CROFT-MURRAY

¹ Stuart's other painted decorations include a room at Wimbledon House also for Lord Spencer (destroyed), a ceiling with 'Zephyrs and Zephyrettes' in Mrs. Montagu's bedroom at Sandleford Priory (destroyed), and perhaps the Drawing Room at Ashburton Park, Sussex (still *in situ*).

² Arthur Young, *A Six-Weeks Tour through the Southern Counties of England and Wales*, 2nd edn.,

1769, pp. 359-60.

³ This is a copy of the famous antique Roman painting, the so-called *Aldobrandini Marriage*, discovered in 1605 and now in the Vatican. This picture had a very great influence on the neo-classic style in painting during the later eighteenth century.

MORE ENGLISH ACQUISITIONS FROM THE LOCKETT COLLECTION

IT was unfortunate but perhaps inevitable that the Trustees' acquisitions out of their own resources at the first Lockett Sale should seem to be overshadowed by the munificence of the Pilgrim Trust and by the generous gift of further coins by the Lockett family. Some of the more important pieces from these two sources have already been described in these pages, but the Trustees' purchases were on only less considerable a scale, some forty late Saxon, Norman, and Platagenet pence having been added to the National Collection, included among them a number of the very highest importance and rarity. Twelve of the more notable are illustrated in Plate III, and described below. For convenience they are arranged in roughly chronological order, and it is hoped that this note will underline both the strength of the British Museum Collection and the number of gaps that have still to be filled.

Æthelræd's *Crun* type struck apparently between 991 and 997 betrays such uniformity of style that it would seem almost certain that, in marked contrast to both earlier and later practice, the dies were engraved at a single centre. Consequently unusual importance attaches to a major variety, distinguished by Hildebrand as 'Cb', in which the characteristic sceptre is omitted and the large 'bare-headed' head replaced by a smaller and neater diademed bust. There are also important differences of epigraphy. The variety is the more significant because the pattern of the mints at which it is struck suggests that the centre from which the dies were supplied was not London but Winchester—though considerably more work will have to be done before certainty is possible on that point. An excellent illustration of the 'Cb' obverse is afforded by an unpublished coin of the Oxford moneyer Wulfwine (Pl. III, 1). Its importance may be gauged from the fact that Hildebrand knew no 'Cb' coin of Oxford, and only three from mints outside Wessex proper.

There is, however, an even more crucial variety which has been recognized only during the last year and then as a result of the acquisition by the British Museum of one of the coins in question. The long and narrow bust of the true 'Cb' is here replaced by a larger and rounder portrait which is in essence that of the *Long Cross* type which immediately followed. No more than half a dozen of these dies have been recorded, and the National Collection was fortunate enough already to possess a typical specimen of the issue from the celebrated Barnett Bequest. At the Lockett Sale, however, the Trustees were able to secure one of the two coins known from the unique obverse die on which the engraver sought to bring his portrait more into line with the true 'Cb' bust by the addition of a diadem. This coin (Pl. III, 2) was struck at Chichester by the moneyer Eadnoth. On an enlarged direct photograph (Pl. III, a) there are easily distinguished the essential criteria, notably the double lines of drapery at the breast and the 'curly' treatment of the hair. On the reverse there is found not M-O but MZO between the moneyer's name and that of the mint, and this epigraphical detail is also characteristic of the *Long Cross* issue. Thus there can be little doubt but that coins of this class come at the very end of the *Crun* issue immediately before the introduction of *Long Cross*. As there is at least one mule between a reverse of this variety and a true 'Cb' obverse, the 'Cb' coins also are to be dated c. 997.

Since the Lockett Sale, too, has come realization that the 'Cb' coins are in fact mules, the obverses belonging to an extremely rare issue of *Small Cross* coins not hitherto differentiated from those of the first and last emissions of the reign. This intermediate issue was not represented in the National Collection, but the deficiency has now been remedied by the acquisition of a fine penny of the Wilton moneyer Sæwine (Pl. III, 3). Comparison with the Oxford 'Cb' obverse already mentioned will demonstrate a fundamental stylistic unity, and an enlarged direct photograph (Pl. III, b) illustrates the essential characteristics of this important

transitional type. We may draw attention in particular to the form of contraction that ends the obverse legend (σx instead of σx), and to the neat and small lettering of the reverse legend. Die-duplicates of this coin have occurred in important finds from islands as far apart as Iceland, Fyn, and Gotland.

After c. 995 Scandinavian imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins became prevalent, and some are most skilful copies of English originals. Even where they do not reproduce the legends as well as the designs of the prototypes, there is further cause for confusion in that the normal mint-signature of London and of Lund is identical (LVND), while both places are easily the most prolific mints in northern Europe. A most interesting example of this class of imitation is a piedfort weighing 39 gr. which purports to have been struck by the London moneyer Godwine (Pl. III, 4). It was almost certainly the product of another Godwine of English extraction who took service with the Vikings and struck coins for Olaf Trygvasson of Norway, Olof Skotkonung of Sweden, and Svend Tveskjaeg of Denmark, before at last settling down at Lund where subsequently he was to strike for Cnut the Great.

Reverting to Anglo-Saxon coins proper, a most important purchase was a penny of Æthelræd II struck at Ilchester by the Crewkerne moneyer Winas (Pl. III, 5), one of the last coins to be issued from the Ilchester mint before it was closed c. 1010 and temporarily removed to the natural stronghold of Cadbury. About this time, too, it became necessary once more to supply dies to local mints from as many as half a dozen provincial centres, and the work of the different engravers is readily discernible. A very rare penny of Æthelræd's last type by the Hereford moneyer Eadric illustrates admirably (Pl. III, 6) the style associated with Western Mercia from the Dee to the Bristol Avon. Of London style is a coin of the same class on which the reverse legend reads $\dagger EODI\bar{I}NEONSI\bar{D}MES$ (Pl. III, 7). The combination of obverse and reverse die is believed to be unique, the obverse die being used on a coin in the Stockholm Collection in conjunction with a reverse die reading as regards the mint-name $SI\bar{D}ED$. Consequently there can be little doubt but that $SI\bar{D}E$ and $SI\bar{D}MES$ are the same place, and there are also some coins which read more fully $ONSI\bar{D}ESTEB(YRIC)$. By English numismatists the mint has usually been considered Scandinavian, but recently Mr. Elmore Jones has discovered an obverse die-link between a $SI\bar{D}ES$ coin and Chichester, while research in the Department has established that the $SI\bar{D}ES$ coin in question is from an eighteenth-century English find. The exact location of 'Sithestebury' has still to be established, but there is some reason to associate it with the vicinity of Arundel or Shoreham. Since the mint was clearly ephemeral—in this resembling Cadbury—it is particularly satisfactory that the National Collection should now possess coins from all three moneyers.

It is in Cnut's reign (1017–35) that the numismatist begins first to notice the use of 'by-names', apparently to distinguish the coins of moneyers of the name

operating at the same mint. A rare coin from Ilchester struck c. 1027 (Pl. III, 8) is signed 'Ælfwine Mus', perhaps to prevent confusion with another Ælfwine, a veteran of the emergency mint at Cadbury who had also taken part in the founding of the mint at Bruton. Struck a few years later is a Winchester penny signed 'Æstan Loc', the name Æ(thel)stan being one of the most commonly met with in Wessex at that period (Pl. III, 9).

For the Norman period the Museum was particularly fortunate to secure some extremely rare coins of Stephen and of his contemporaries. One of the Stephens (Pl. III, 10) is an irregular issue by the Lincoln moneyer Gladwine. It is believed to be unique and part of its importance lies in the fact that Gladwine was a prolific moneyer in Stephen's first type struck before the succession was seriously in dispute. Incidentally the coin is one of the last for more than a century on which the mint-signature takes the form LIN (colne). Under the early Plantagenets the Norman-French form NICOLE, first introduced late in the reign of Henry I, for a time completely supplanted the Old English forms employed without a break since the tenth century. When the *Norman Kings* volume of the *British Museum Catalogue* was published, the National Collection lacked an example of the exceedingly rare coins which bear on the obverse the name ROBERT, and Brooke had perforce to illustrate the two specimens in the Roth collection. The coins in question have been attributed to Robert of Gloucester or to Robert de Beaumont, but may well be connected with neither. By the acquisition of a fine cut halfpenny (Pl. III, 11), the Museum has filled a serious gap in its trays, and the coin with its enigmatic legends illustrates admirably the anarchy of the civil war of 1138-53. In this connexion it is worth recalling that not even in the blackest days of Æthelræd II's reign had the English monarchy lost its absolute control of the coinage.

Finally mention should be made of an extremely rare penny of Henry III from the ecclesiastical mint of Bury St. Edmunds (Pl. III, 12). It belongs to the first issue of the new Long Cross coinage and can be dated to the early part of 1248. There is no moneyer's name, the only indication of its origin being the letters AED in the last quarter of the reverse. Only one other specimen is believed to exist, and both coins are from the great Brussels hoard, one of the largest finds of English coins to occur outside this country but unfortunately never published in any detail and now in part dispersed.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

BRONZE BUST OF A YOUNG NEGRESS

THE small bronze bust of a young negress¹ illustrated in Pl. iv has been presented to the Greek and Roman Department by the National Art-Collections Fund. Nothing is known of its history. The bust is cast hollow and originally served as a miniature scent-bottle: an inset plate, now missing, filled the open bottom of the casting, and a handle, also lost, sprang from the back of the head to the back of the trefoil mouth formed by the top of the head-dress. The bronze had been lightly cleaned before coming to the Museum and is now a dark slaty green, with a few patches of shallow corrosion, notably above the right brow. The silver inlay representing the white of the eyes is preserved, but not the fillings, presumably of precious stone or paste, which represented the iris and pupil. A fine groove outlining the lips shows that they, too, were inlaid with metal of a contrasting colour, almost certainly copper. The height is 4 inches.

The girl turns her head with a gentle inclination to the left, her neck drawn back a little, her left shoulder raised. The abruptness with which the bust is sliced off at the bottom suggests that it is an abbreviation of a full-length composition. The face is wistful, with half-parted lips, drawn cheeks, and puckered brow. Though unmistakable, the negroid features are not pronounced: the lips full without being thick or strongly everted, the nose flat and broad, but straight and delicately modelled.² The hair is arranged in irregular rows of small cork-screw curls, a fashion still prevalent among many African tribes, who use mud as a fixative. The neck of the bottle forms a fanciful, flower-like head-dress, triangular with convex sides in section, and scalloped round the lower edge.

That the style of the head is Hellenistic will hardly be disputed. The subdued pathos and feeling for structure point, perhaps, to a moment when the excitement of Hellenistic baroque is already subsiding and giving place to a new classicism; and we may compare a marble head from Smyrna in Athens which is probably to be dated about 100 B.C.³ Closely related to our bust are two other small bronze busts of negro children, one of unknown, but presumably Italian, provenience now in Florence,⁴ the other from Tell Moqdam (Leontopolis) and formerly in the Fouquet collection.⁵ The Egyptian provenience of the Fouquet bronze is significant, for Alexandria is the artistic centre to which, on general grounds, we should be most inclined to ascribe the creation of these closely observed and sensitive studies of Africans.

D. E. L. HAYNES

¹ 1955, 10-8. 1.

² Miss M. A. Bennet-Clark writes: 'Despite slight idealization, the features suggest that the model may well have belonged to one of the half-Hamitic tribes of East Africa. The narrow domed forehead, high cheekbones, slightly slanting eyes

and mesorrhine nose occur especially among the Masai, who show their partially "Caucasian" origin rather more than other tribes with this racial admixture. The true negro usually has a broader nose, the women having a nasal index of 90 or even more. In Hellenistic times, these pastoral half-

Hamites probably lived further to the north than they do now, and the occurrence of this physical type in Alexandrian art need occasion no surprise'.

³ Athens no. 362, Laurenzi, *Ritratti*, no. 9 (c. 100 B.C.), Buschor, *Das hellenistische Bildnis*, p. 43, Abb. 35 (100-75 B.C.).

⁴ H. Read, *A Coat of Many Colours*, frontis-

piece; not otherwise published. Prof. Giacomo Caputo kindly informs me that nothing is known of its history.

⁵ P. Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs de la collection Fouquet*, pp. 57 f., pl. xxv; Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*. Neue Bearbeitung I. Altertum. Hellenistische Skulptur, p. 369, no. 4.

PAIR OF CHELSEA PORCELAIN VASES

THE pair of vases here illustrated (Pl. v), which were recently acquired by the Museum (1955, 11-7, 1 and 2), are an unusual and important example of Chelsea porcelain of gold-anchor period. They are 9½ in. high and both bear the gold anchor on the base. The mazarine blue ground is of the earliest period, c. 1760, and the gilt foliage and frieze decorations have tooling of excellent quality. They are in these respects similar in style to the well-known vases with scenes from the death of Cleopatra (*Catalogue of English Porcelain*, II. 28), which are known to have been made in 1762 and which were given to the Museum in the following year. A gilded lizard, holding a sprig of white star-shaped flowers and green leaves in its mouth, is represented climbing spirally down the tall neck.

The vases appear to be based directly on a Chinese model, such as is often found in the 'blanc de Chine' wares of Tehua in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Normally, the Chelsea factory was content to base its designs for vases in the Chinese manner on the Meissen or other continental versions. Since no continental example of this particular Chinese model is yet known, it would appear that in this case the Chelsea factory had the initiative to copy directly from the Chinese original, while at the same time altering the general proportions and the shape of the mouth in such a way as to create an entirely European piece of Chinoiserie. In the same wilful spirit the Chelsea factory changed the spray of prunus blossom in the mouth of the Chinese lizard into a sprig of English flowers.

An interesting historical aspect of the vases is that in the papers of John Bowcock¹ (covering the period 1750-8), clerk to the Bow porcelain factory, there is a drawing by Bridget Bowcock for a vase of similar design, but retaining the original Chinese shape (Pl. v, b). No porcelain version of this drawing is recorded, nor is it known whether the Bow factory ever attempted one. Within a few years, however, the Chelsea factory produced these vases—further evidence of the enterprise of the factory at this period.

HUGH TAIT

¹ In the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities.

MEISSEN PORCELAIN

THE coffee-pot, recently acquired by the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities (1955, 7-8, 1), was made at the Meissen factory and bears the mark of crossed swords and 'S' in underglaze blue on the base.

It is painted in gay colours with designs based on engravings by Johann Schmischek (1585-1650), which were published in his 'Neues Grötischgen-Büchlein' in Munich about 1630. These engravings curiously anticipate certain aspects of the style of Rococo ornament more than a hundred years later. Many of these small hunting scenes by Schmischek were intended for the decoration of guns, but an artist, as yet unidentified, of the early Meissen factory adapted them to the decoration of the new white porcelain. At this stage in the history of the factory experiments of this kind were tried, but judging from the very few pieces (less than ten) known to exist, this particular one was probably not considered a success. The existing examples indicate that the painting was executed about 1725, at which date the Rococo style was unknown at Meissen. The handle is painted with small coloured flowers—a motif which can be exactly paralleled on the handle of a bowl, cover, and stand (1923, 3-14, 145), which has been attributed to Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck (cf. W. B. Honey, *Dresden China*, p. 69, pl. xvi (b) and (c)), though the most recent published material on this artist does not confirm this attribution.

HUGH TAIT

CHINESE LACQUERED WINE-CUPS

AMONG the lacquer vessels recovered from Han dynasty tombs of the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. the commonest are wine-cups, called *pei*^(a) according to the inscriptions appearing on many of them. They are shallow cups, varying in height from 5 to 8 inches, standing on a small, flat base and furnished with handles in the form of projecting flanges set on the two longer curves of the lip. Some of the cups are highly finished products of the lacquerer's art. Although their decoration does not come up to that of the larger toilet-boxes in delicacy and light movement, the pattern is generally applied with a graceful touch, hardly betraying the routine of reproduction by which we know they were manufactured. The cups record vividly in their unimpaired lacquer paint the schematic style which prevailed in the last two centuries B.C. and survived well into the first century A.D. The cups have been found at widely separated places: in tombs of the Han colony at Lo-lang in North Korea;¹ tombs outside the walls of Ch'ang-sha, the chief city of Hunan province, anciently the capital of the Chu'u state, where local kings were still recognized by the Han state;² three cups were found at Noin-Ula in Northern Mongolia³ and fragments were unearthed at Tun-huang, in the north-west of Kansu province, by Sir Aurel

Stein.⁴ Compared with these wine-cups, the toilet-boxes are much rarer, but they, too, have been found both at Lo-lang and Ch'ang-sha. Fragments were also recovered at Noin-Ula and at Huai-an, near Kalgan,⁵ while some intact toilet-boxes have been reported (though not yet proved) to come from the soil of China herself. The toilet-box in the British Museum is one of the best of these last.⁶ With the accession of the wine-cups described here, the Museum collection now includes examples of Han lacquer in each of the main styles of decoration.

The lacquered cup (Pl. vi) which our collection owes to the generosity of Mr. Brooke Sewell, comes from Lo-lang, and is one of the most splendid and best preserved pieces of its kind known up to the present time. It is dated by inscription to a year corresponding to A.D. 4. It was first noticed⁷ in the possession of a Japanese collector, when it was accompanied by a very similar cup, inscribed with a date corresponding to A.D. 3. There is no room for doubting the statement that both the cups were excavated, in 1937 or 1938, from one of the 1,300 or more tombs of the Han cemetery situated on the south bank of the river Ta-t'ung, opposite Ph्योंg-yang (Heijō) in North Korea. Compared with the majority of the cups found in these tombs, ours has suffered very little distortion in drying after it was unearthed. There is a short crack near the end of one handle, but the curve of the side is hardly affected. The lacquer paint is all but pristine; the over-painting retains its original vermilion hue in some places; in others it is oxidized to a darker colour. The wings of the birds show a reddish-brown, probably representing an original yellow, still distinct from the other lines of the pattern. Much of the gilding remains on the bronze handle-mounts.

Many of the wine-cups found at Lo-lang are inscribed in neat, engraved, square hand around the side, just above the oval base. Apart from the dates which they generally include, these inscriptions reflect the organization of the state factories in which they were produced. Most of the longer inscriptions follow the same pattern and phraseology, and our example is typical:

元始四年蜀郡西工造乘
興縣洞畫木黃耳梧容一
升十六龠素工陶縣工立
上工當銅耳黃塗工古畫
工定洞工豐清工乎造工
宗造龔工卒史章長良丞
鳳掾隆令史哀主

'4th year of Yüan Shih (A.D. 4). Shu Commandery, West Factory. Imperial cup of wood, lacquered, engraved, and painted, with gilded handles. Capacity one *shêng*, 16 *yüeh*. Initial work, *I*. Application of lacquer, *Li*. Top work, *Tang*. Gilding of bronze handles, *Ku*. Painting, *Ting*. Engraving, *Fêng*. Finishing, *P'ing*. Production, *Tsung Tsao* (?). Official in charge of the soldiers of the factory guard, *Chang*. Manager, *Liang*. Deputy, *Fêng*. Assistant, *Lung*. Head clerk, *Pao Chu*.'

The most disputed point in the interpretation of these inscriptions has been the meaning of the character preceding *hua*, 'painted', in the description of the cup, and here translated as 'engraved'.⁸ Some understand it as 'polished', but this meaning fits queerly into the sequence of processes. The more natural meaning is 'carved' or 'engraved', and here it could denote the engraving of the inscription. The first character of the description of the cup, *hsiu*, is defined in the dictionaries as 'black and red colours' or 'to apply lacquer'. Although the colours fit, the meaning here is the second. The title of the cup in the inscription reads like an inventory heading; 'engraved and painted' is retained even in instances where the decoration seems to be engraved only.⁹ On the other hand, 'wooden'(^s) or 'lined with hempen cloth'(^h) varies according to the base on which the lacquer is built. The meaning of *tsao*(^d) added to the name following 'production' remains obscure, as also the *chu*(^d) after the name of the head clerk. Both are probably titles of office or artisan rank. In some of the earliest cups the *tsao* is attached to the name of the painter.

The 'Western Factory of Shu Commandery' is the place of manufacture of the majority of the inscribed lacquer cups from Lo-lang. The Shu Commandery was situated in the centre of the present Szech'uan province. Its products range in date from 85 B.C. to A.D. 71. The earliest mention of the other Szech'uan factory, at Kuang Han(^k), is in 43 B.C., and it was still working in A.D. 54. Yen Shih-ku's commentary on the Han History mentions three government factories existing in Shu under the control of a prefectural governor, called the Inspection Factory, the Right Factory Hall, and Eastern Garden Crafts.¹⁰ Only the first of these, the K'ao Kung, appears as a lacquer factory in some of the earlier inscriptions, and there are no means of identifying the West or Kuang Han factories with the other two. In the same book Kuang Han is described as specializing in gold (this could be bronze-gilt) and silver vessels. The Later Han History speaks of Shu Han (Kuang Han?) as producing 'vessels with gilded mounts' or 'gilded vessels', which is probably intended as a description of such things as our wine-cups.¹¹ The creation of lacquer factories under state management would accord with the views of Han economists who advocated state monopoly as a means of preventing the dangerous growth of mercantile wealth in private hands. But for siting the factories in the remote province of Szech'uan the only reason can have been the need to place them near to an adequate supply of the lacquer tree.¹²

Lacquered goods were an important commodity for gifts to Hunnish chieftains beyond the north-west frontiers, and together with the tribute occasionally offered in return it took part in a kind of foreign trade. It appears that officials who accepted exile to the Lo-lang colony were also rewarded with the produce of the official craft factories.

A study of the inscriptions shows that particular craftsmen seldom held a post for more than two or three years before they were replaced, seldom to reappear. The senior officials enjoyed on average only a slightly longer tenure of office. This impermanency, and the unreasonably large number of managing officials recorded simultaneously, may reflect the government's political use of all manner of appointments in its gift, even these humble ones.

The decoration of the cups is similar at both the West Factory and the Kuang Han Factory, consisting of pairs of confronted birds among spirals and other geometric figures. But whereas the latter factory executes these in thin, delicate lines, the former does so in thick lines, producing a less attractive design but a rich surface of colour. Judging from the numerous inscribed pieces, the factories kept each to its own manner. Where an inscription is lacking, or omits the place of manufacture, we may still assign the cups to one or other of the factories according to the style of painting. The design of birds and spirals seems to have been used at Kuang Han at least as early as 43 B.C. It is last recorded at the West Factory in A.D. 13. There is a gap in the series of dated cups between A.D. 13 and A.D. 45. Between A.D. 45 and A.D. 71 the cups made at both factories were lacquered in plain black.

It is interesting to note that a circular lacquer tray of the West Factory, dated A.D. 69, is plain but for four small deer-like animals and a pair of celestial beings riding on a cloud drawn small at the edge. This style of painting is quite distinct, and can be classed with the animated figure-painting on the basket found in the Tomb of the Painted Basket near Ph्योंg-yang in Korea, a tomb of the second century A.D. This new departure marks the watershed between the formal style broadly dominant in Chinese art from the earliest times, and a naturalism of a very different character, the basis of Chinese art as it has been ever since. Probably the life of the old-fashioned style had been prolonged in the official workshops.

In addition to the wine-cup from Lo-lang our collection includes two others of approximately similar shape, which at the time of purchase in 1950 were said to have been found at Ch'ang-sha (Pl. VII). They were probably removed from one of a large number of tombs situated outside the city walls and ranging in date from the fourth century B.C. to about the second century A.D. These tombs were exploited in the later 1930's and more systematically excavated in the last few years. In shape these cups are similar to those from Lo-lang, though less elegant, and they lack bronze mounts. The wooden base is thicker and the lacquer thinner

than in the majority of the Lo-lang cups. There are no inscriptions to tell us where they were made, yet their decoration, if not their quality also, suggests that it was not in either of the two Szech'uan factories discussed above. At Ch'ang-sha the black-on-red decoration of many of the cups is faithfully copied from inlaid bronzes of the third and second centuries B.C. Although in examples such as ours the patterns have degenerated or even broken up, it is clear that they are derived from the same source.

It is unlikely, however, in spite of the archaic appearance of their ornament, that the Ch'ang-sha cups were made much earlier than the earliest produced in the Szech'uan factories recorded in inscription. Fragments of similar cups found by Stein at Tun-huang are of a still coarser make, the wood thicker and the lacquer thinner, decorated in red with degenerate variations of the spiral motif. Probably the three varieties of the cups—the Lo-lang, Ch'ang-sha, and Tun-huang types—were all made at different centres.

At Ch'ang-sha the archaic style of the majority of the lacquered objects is in contrast with a style of realistic decoration appearing on a toilet-box, in which human figures, buildings, and carriages are depicted. At Ch'ang-sha there is not yet evidence as there is at Lo-lang to show that the pictorial motifs are later in date, and responsible for ousting the archaic patterns. But it probably was so, the change falling in the late first and the early second century A.D. W. WATSON

¹ The chief publications are *Rakurō Saikyō-Zuka* (Tomb of the Painted Basket, Lo-lang)^(b) 1934; *Rakurō Ōkō-haka* (Tomb of Wang Kuang, Lo-lang)^(c) 1935; *Rakurō Gokanzen Ōko no Fumō* (Tomb of Wang Hsü, Lo-lang)^(d) 1930. The first two were published by the Korean Antiquities Society, and the last by the Tokyo University Department of Literature.

² Reproductions of the lacquered vessels are illustrated in *Ch'ang Sha Ch'ü T'u Ku Tai Ch'i Ch'i T'u An Hsüan Chi*^(a), published in 1954 by the Peking Historical Museum; cf. *B.M.Q.* xvii (1952), pp. 52 ff.

³ Camilla Trever, *Excavations in Northern Mongolia*, Leningrad, 1932, pls. 29-31.

⁴ *Serindia*, pp. 644 ff., pl. lii (Tun-huang limes); *Innermost Asia*, p. 394, pl. xlvii (Tun-huang and Hua-hai-tzu limes)

⁵ *Archaeologia Orientalis*, ser. B, vol. v, pls. 50-65.

⁶ *B.M.Q.* xiv (1939-40), pp. 49 ff.

⁷ By Umehara Sueji, who published the cup as *Early Han 24* in his album of dated lacquers of the Han Dynasty, *Shina Kandai Kinenmei Shikki Zuseisu*^(f), Kyoto, 1943. To this compilation all subsequent study is indebted, not least in the present instance.

⁸ Studies of the Lo-lang inscriptions by Sekino, Harada, and Naitō are listed in Umehara's bibliography, loc. cit., p. 66.

⁹ Cf. Umehara, loc. cit., *Early Han 26*, p. 24. The author omits in transcription the character here translated 'carved', but it is visible in his pl. xxviii, 3.

¹⁰ *Han Shu, Kung Yü Ch'uan*⁽ⁱ⁾.

¹¹ *Hou Han Shu, Ho Hsi Teng Huang Hou Chi*^(m). This and the preceding reference are given by Umehara.

¹² For the distribution of the lacquer tree see R. S. Jenyns, *Chinese Lacquer*, Trans. Or. Cer. Soc. xvii (1939-40), pp. 12 ff.

(a) 梧

(b) 樂浪彩篋冢

(c) 樂浪王光墓

(d) 五官掾王野の墳墓

(e) 長沙出土古代漆器圖案選集

- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|--------|
| (f) 支那漢代紀年銘漆器圖說 | (g) 木 | (h) 夾紵 |
| (i) 造 | (j) 主 | (k) 廣漢 |
| (l) 漢書貢禹傳 | (m) 後漢書和熹鄧皇后紀 | |

TWO CEREMONIAL MACE HEADS FROM COSTA RICA

IN a small archaeological series presented to the Museum in 1954 by Mr. Neil McQueen, through the good offices of Mr. Fisher of the Hancock Museum, Newcastle, are two ceremonial mace heads of great interest. They belong to a type of object described by the Swedish archaeologist, C. V. Hartmann, who published a number of similar specimens from an ancient burial ground at Las Guacas, near Nicoya in Costa Rica.¹ They consist of spherical heads drilled for hafting on to shafts about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. thick. The drilling has been undertaken from both ends and there is a slight constriction in the bore similar to that found on certain European neolithic axe heads. In this class of object one side is expanded into a large boss which is carved in the form of a head, either anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. Mr. Hartmann records and illustrates human heads, skulls (which he compares with small death's-head type amulets of Aztec period), and various animal and bird forms.

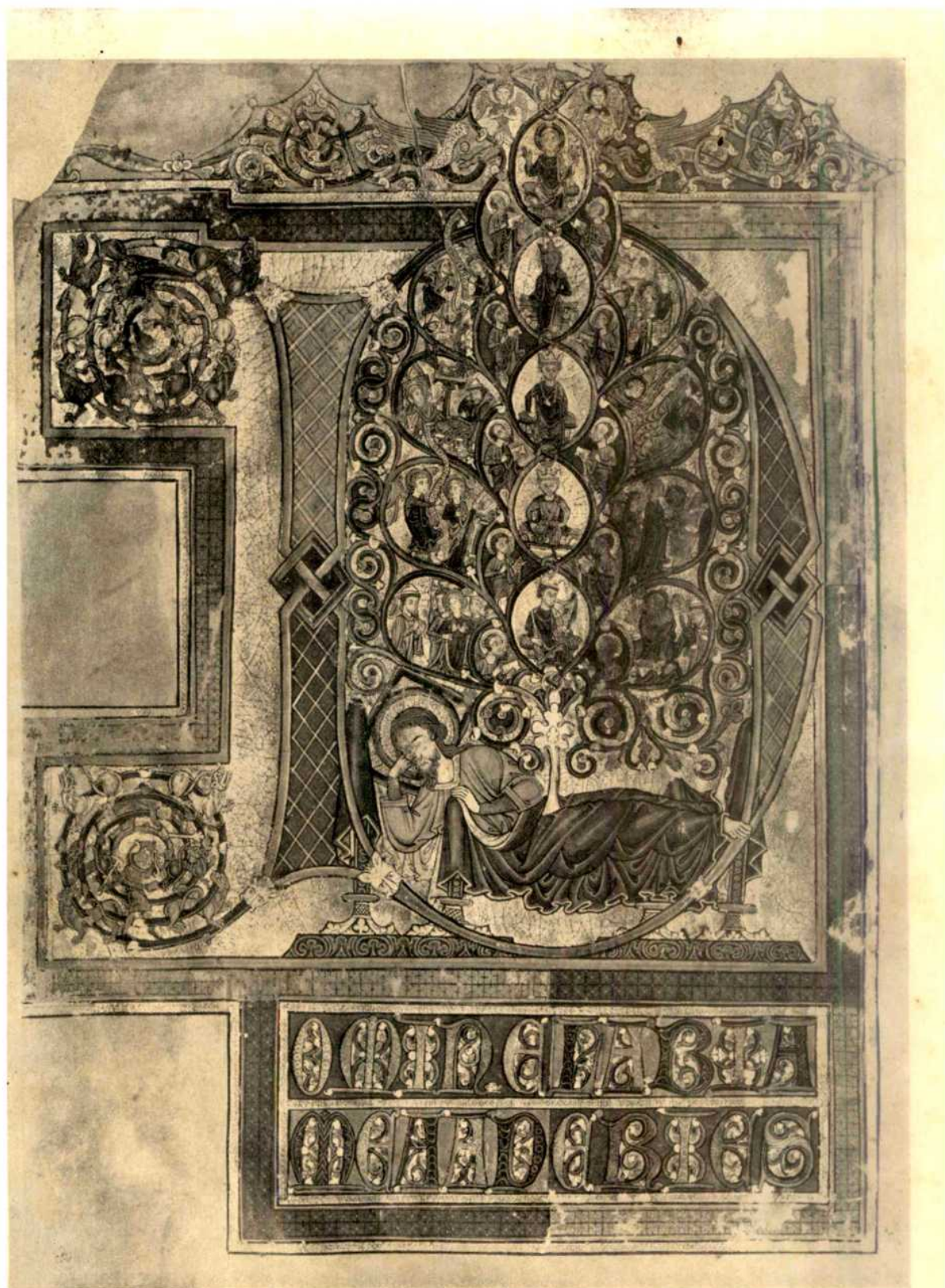
The first British Museum specimen has a suggestion of the death's-head in the form of the large deep-set orbits, drilled with a tubular drill, but the representation of ears and of lips, and of a nose in which the *alae* are clearly indicated by two small triangles with drill marks in the centre, make this attribution unlikely. It seems probable that the orbits were originally filled with some inlay, possibly gold or iron pyrites or shell. The lower part of the face is occupied by the widely open jaws of a feline animal complete with incisor teeth and four large overlapping canines. Between the jaws is the head of a small animal. Liberal use has been made of a drill to excavate the space inside the mouth. Two borings, one from each side, delimit the inside edges of the upper canine teeth and four converging drill holes, two on each side of the small animal, give an indication of a cavernous mouth. Whether the being depicted is human or animal is uncertain, but the face is surmounted by a rectangular cap or plate. This combination of the rectangular cap and the long curved canine teeth may be of value in tracing the cultural connexions of these objects. The cult of ferocious feline deities is almost universal in both Central and South America, being found among the Maya, in the La Venta culture in the province of Vera Cruz, at San Augustin in Colombia, in Chavin,

Cupisnique, Moché Nasca, and many other sites in Peru. The small rectangular plaque, however, would suggest a definite link, however tenuous, with the Olmec or La Venta culture where both feline masks and masks bearing a small rectangular plaque on the forehead are characteristic. Pottery designs have been shown in many cases to have been introduced by Nicoya people from the valley of Mexico far to the north, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the culture of La Venta, which is considerably nearer and which has profoundly influenced the Maya, may also have influenced Costa Rica. The macabre skull-like appearance may perhaps be due to the convergence of ideas since very similar specimens, illustrated by Hartman, are obviously skulls, but the resemblance is more probably fortuitous, being due to the use of tubular drills of relatively large diameter for most of the work.

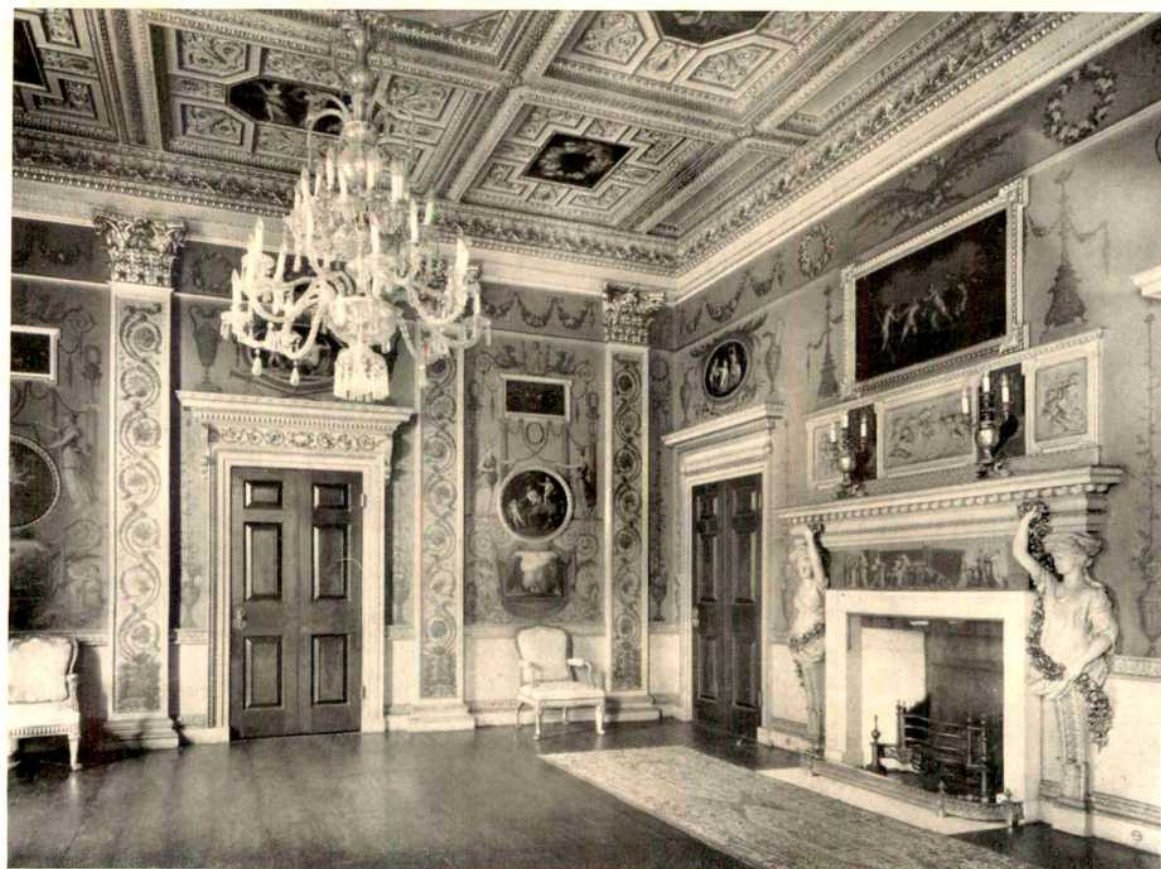
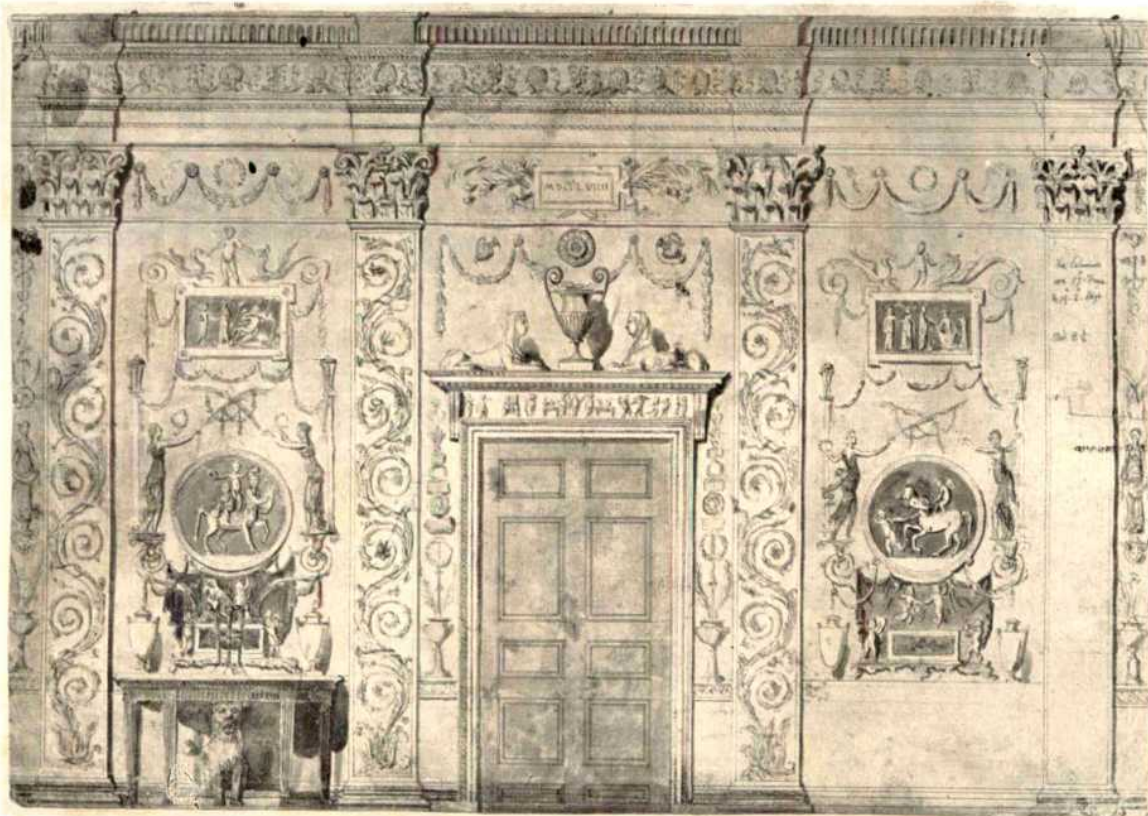
The smaller specimen, which belongs to the same general class of mace head, is a human head very much conventionalized, with what appears to be a beard spreading from the ears to the chin. Like the first example, it wears a small rectangular plaque, with two lateral ridges slightly emphasized, and it also resembles the first specimen in the similar treatment of the *alae* of the nose, but in other respects there is no stylistic resemblance whatsoever. Eyes in the accepted sense do not exist at all; their place is taken by a deep wide groove right across the forehead, the presence of eyes being suggested by the heavy shadows cast by the overhanging upper edges of the groove. The pendulous semi-lunar shapes immediately below the groove are not in fact eyes, as one might expect at first sight, but cheeks. Below the cheeks and nose are two shallow grooves and one deep groove, similar to that which represents the eyes, forming the mouth. The effect of this unusual treatment is to produce a slightly sinister, though not unpleasing, face. The importance of this mace-head lies, however, not so much in its aesthetic value as in the light it throws on the decoration of polished jade amulets from Nicoya. Two examples from the British Museum Collection are shown; the most important part of the decoration of these is the use of transverse grooves of varying widths which represent the eyes and nose of a human face. Immediately below, in both these specimens, is an inverted triangle which is clearly a beard. Beards are excessively rare among American Indians; on the other hand both Central and South American legends are copiously supplied with references to bearded strangers who were generally the introducers of higher cultures.

While we would not be warranted in regarding the presence of beards on these amulets and on the mace head as potential proof of the legends, they do, however, lend weight to their claims to be considered seriously. A. DIGBY

¹ C. V. Hartmann, 'Archaeological Researches on the Pacific Coast of Costa Rica' in *Memoirs of the Carnegie Museum*, vol. iii (1907).



I. THE SALVIN HORAE



II. JAMES 'ATHENIAN' STUART

(a) Design for the Painted Room at Spencer House, St. James's Place. (b) Painted Room at Spencer House

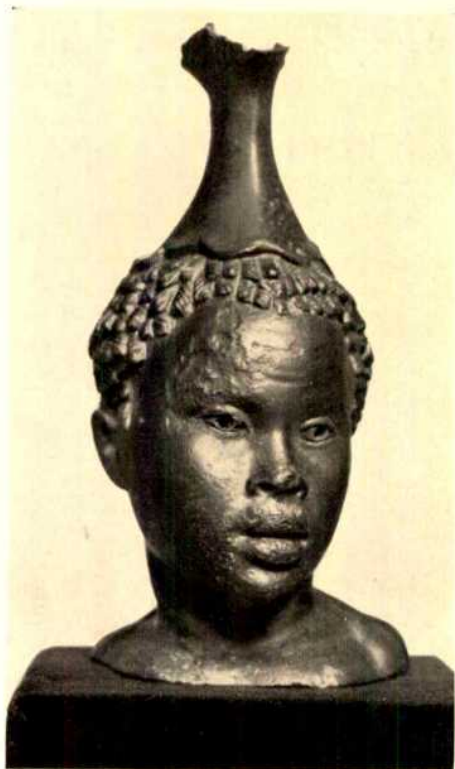


a



b

III. ENGLISH COINS FROM THE LOCKETT COLLECTION



IV. BRONZE BUST OF A YOUNG NEGRESS



(a)



(b)

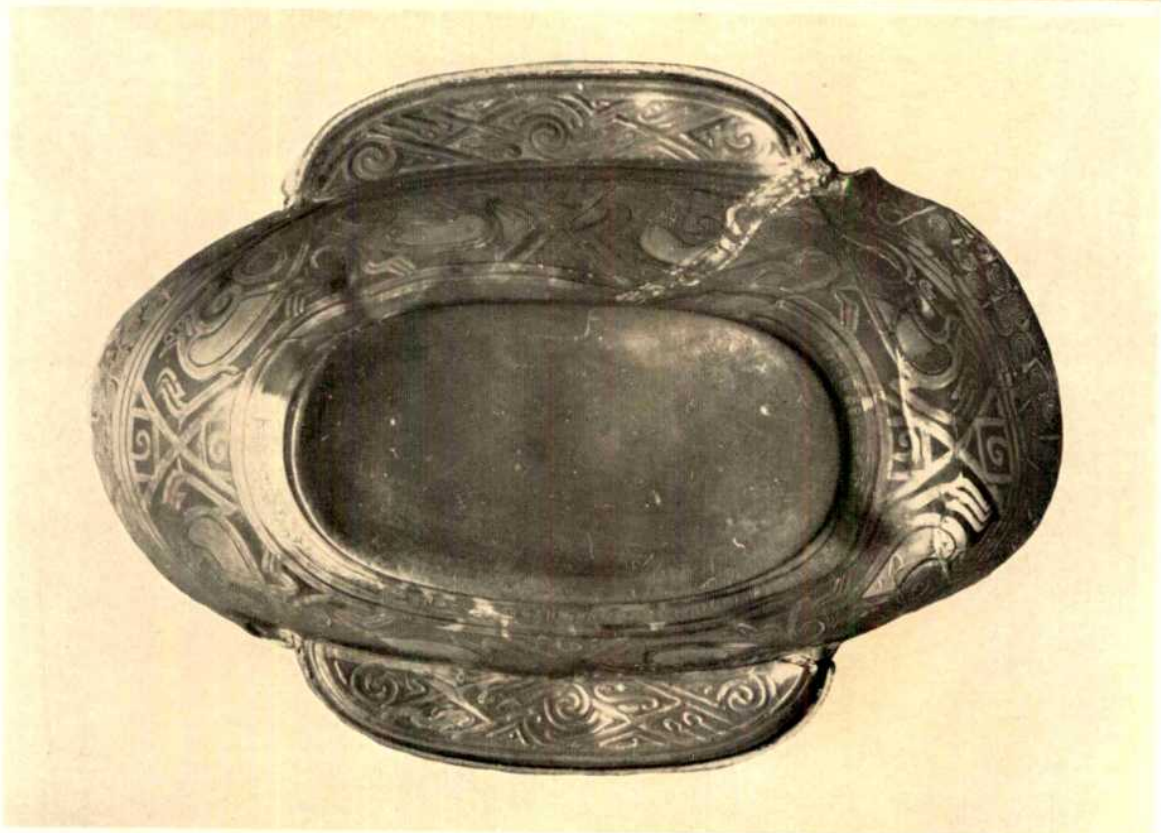


(c)

V

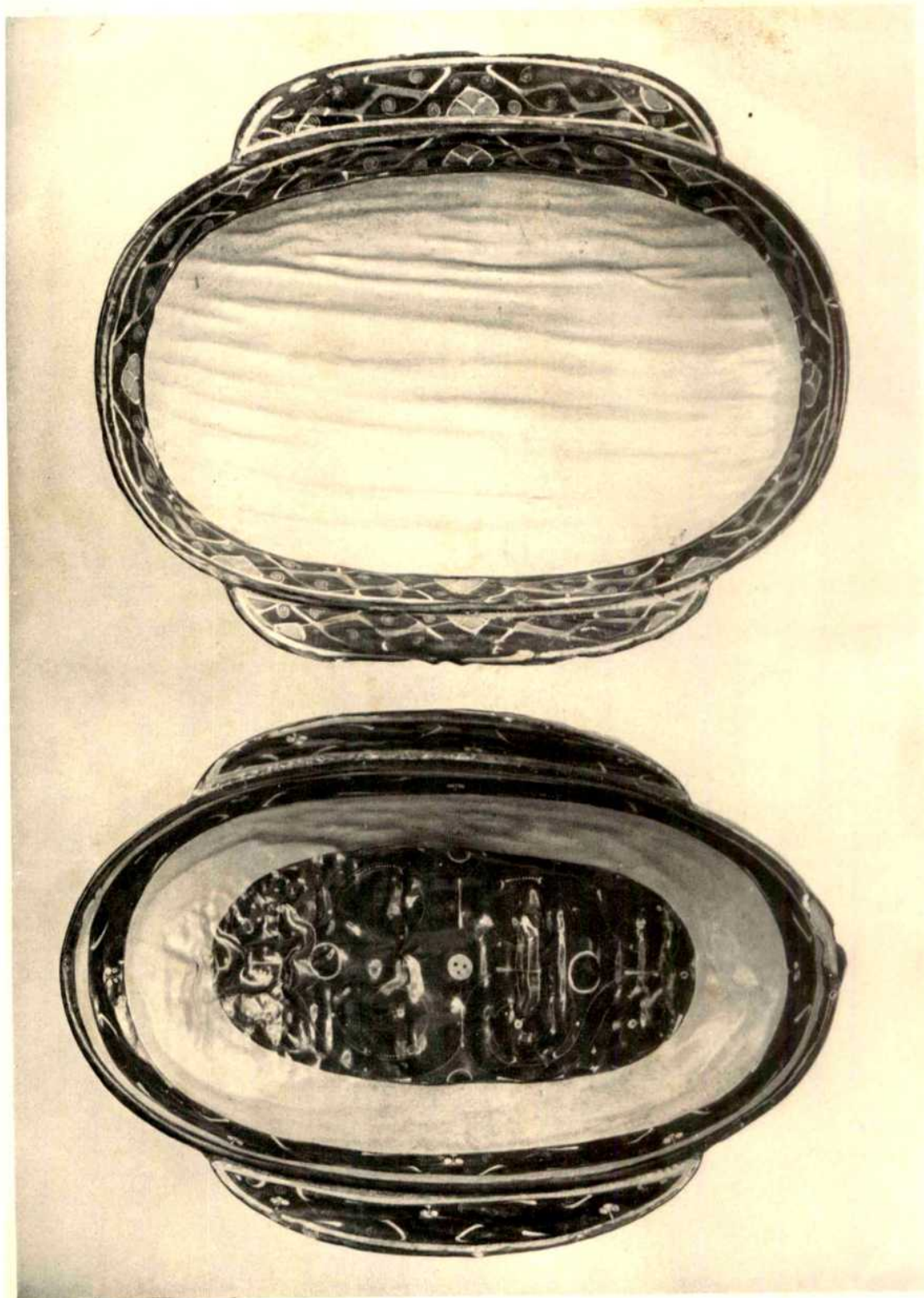
(a) and (b) Pair of Chelsea gold-anchor vases, c. 1760

(c) A Drawing from the Papers of John Bowcock, clerk to the Bow Porcelain Factory



VI. LACQUERED WINE-CUP FROM LO-LANG, KOREA

Decorated in vermillion and brownish red on a black ground and inscribed with a date corresponding to A.D. 4.
Seen from the side and from beneath. Length $6\frac{1}{8}$ in.



VII. LACQUERED WINE-CUPS SAID TO COME FROM CH'ANG-SHA, HUNAN PROVINCE; decorated in vermilion and brownish red on black ground, the bottom partly or wholly red; Length 6.6 in. (above), 6.9 in. (below)



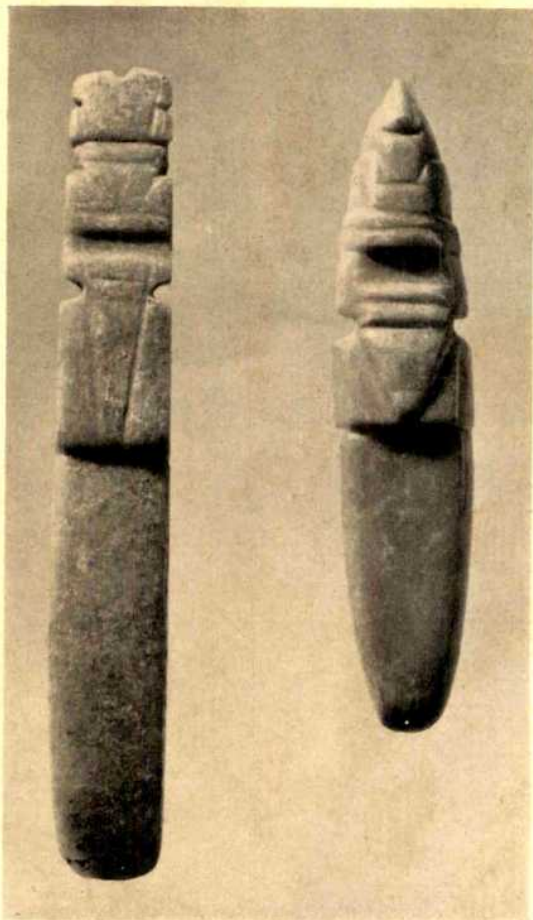
a



b



c



d

VIII. MACE HEADS

a. Feline deity with canine teeth and deep boring.
Length $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.

b. Human head with beard. Length $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

c and *d.* Human head compared with Nicoya pendant
amulets.

BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY
VOLUME XXI. NUMBER 2. JULY 1957

THE BRITISH MUSEUM
QUARTERLY VOL. XXI. NO. 2

PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON

1957

The cover illustration is a woodcut of an angler taken from the *Book of St. Albans*, Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster, 1496.

Binding cases designed to hold one volume of the Quarterly (4 parts) are now available from the British Museum, price 2s. 3d. each (post free). It is regretted that the Museum cannot undertake the work of binding the parts into these cases.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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TWO MORE ASSOCIATION COPIES

AN early printed book in the Museum collection associated with a humanist at Basle was the subject of a note by the present writer in a recent issue of the *B.M.Q.* (vol. xx, no. 3), and this may now be followed up by another note of similar interest. It concerns two books acquired not long ago from the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall, namely Cicero, *De officiis, &c.*, signed by Bernardinus de Choris at Venice on 24 March 1492 (Gesamtkatalog 6961), and Cicero, *Rhetorica noua et vetus*, put on sale at Paris by Jean Petit and Jodocus Badius Ascensius in June 1508 (Panzer vii. 530. 261). On the title-page of each of these volumes is written in a rather irregular hand: 'Sum Ioannis Sphyractae Basileiensis et amicoꝝ', and below this in plain roman capitals: 'SOCINI'. In addition, the last (blank) page of the 1508 *Rhetorica* bears the inscription: 'Sum xpofoꝝ Aguesseau' followed by a paraph.

Ioannes Sphyractes came of a family of metal-workers at Basle whose surname (an occupational nickname) was Juchdenhammer ('Ply-the-hammer'), graecized as Sphyractes (σφύρα, ἄγειν). He was born as the son of a blacksmith in 1508 and made a start as a schoolmaster at an early age. In 1530 he betook himself to Paris to study jurisprudence, being assisted therein by an exhibition granted him by the French king for three years, but it was not until 1537 that he graduated at Bourges and was installed as law professor in the university of his native Basle. He was rector of the university in 1545 and again in 1558, but the 'dangerous fifties', on which he now entered, seem to have been climacteric to him, as early in 1562 it was officially recorded that he 'has for some time been behaving strangely, comes to guild meetings the worse for liquor, returns home at midnight drunk and disorderly, beats his servants and his wife, borrows money and gets into debt'. As a result he was confined to his house for life and restricted to a small, exactly specified allowance of wine. Thus protected against himself the culprit survived until 1578.¹

As for 'Socini', this most probably indicates Lelio Socini, of Siena, son of the famous jurist Mariano Socini and uncle of Fausto Socini, the heterodox theologian who gave his name to Socinianism. Leliò, a jurist like his father and a sceptic like his nephew, came to Basle in 1542, attached himself to Bonifacius Amerbach and his humanistic circle, and was no doubt acquainted with Sphyractes also. After extensive travels in central Europe he settled at Zurich in 1553 and died there in 1562, the Inquisition having made a return to his native country impossible. He was certainly again at Basle in 1555 and very likely on other occasions also, and it is an easy guess that he acquired the two Ciceros there from Sphyractes himself, who was so often hard up. At Lelio's death they will have

passed into the possession of Fausto, who hurried to Zurich from his home at Lyons in order to take charge of his uncle's books and papers.²

The Christophorus Aguesseau who put his signature in a non-humanistic hand on the last page of the volume of 1508 was perhaps the first owner of the book. He bears a name afterwards famous but seems to be himself unknown.

Pressmarks: Cicero of 1492, IB. 23438. Cicero of 1508, C. 132. h. 41.

V. SCHOLDERER

¹ For Sphyractes see the *Amerbach-Korrespondenz*, vol. iv, p. 10, note by the editor, A. Hartmann. Another book from the library of Sphyractes (Oecolampadius, *In Daniele prophetam*, Thomas Wolfius, Basle, 1530) is preserved in the Biblioteca Angelica at Rome (*La Bibliofilia*, vol. viii (1907), p. 155) and a copy of a Basle book of 1535 pre-

sented to Sphyractes by the printer Joannes Oporinus is described in R. Pennink, *Catalogus der niet-Nederlandse Drukken*, 1500-40 [at The Hague], no. 865.

² For Socini see the *Amerbach-Korrespondenz*, vol. iii, p. 171, and F. Trechsel, *Leio Socini und die Antitrinitarier seiner Zeit* (Heidelberg, 1844).

LETTER OF ANTON SCHINDLER

A LETTER from Anton Schindler, the friend and biographer of Beethoven, to Charles Neate, the English pianist, which was acquired in 1948 by the Department of Manuscripts (Add. MS. 46839 L), possesses a particular interest for the British Museum in its references to negotiations—unhappily not successful—for the purchase of his famous collection of Beethoven autographs. It is dated from Aix-la-Chapelle, 6 August 1845, and the relevant passage reads:

Herr und Madame Dulcken sind hier seit mehren [*sic*] Tagen. Es war natürlich, daß unter uns auch die Conversation auf die Beethoven'schen Nachlaß-Papiere kam, davon Herr Kroff ein Programm von mir erhalten. Herr Dulcken hat darüber an H. Beale geschrieben und auf meinen Wunsch auch bemerkt, daß Sie diesen Kunstschatz kürzlich hier gesehen haben; daher H. Beale Sie befragen kann.

In Bezug auf diesen Schatz muß ich Ihnen aber noch anderes melden. Es ist der Plan in Cöln und Bonn publicirt worden, eine 'Beethoven-Stiftung' (c'est à dire) Musikschule in der Rheinprovinz zu gründen und den Nachlaß für dieses Institut zu acquiriren. Ob es dazu kommt, ob es nicht beim Projekt verbleiben wird, wie in Deutschland so sehr oft, ob der Enthusiasmus für Beethoven lange nach geendetem Feste anhalten werde—nous verrons!—Ich zweifle an allem. Mein Wunsch ist, und muß seyn, diesen kostbaren Kunstschatz bald dort placirt zu sehen, wo er für alle Zeiten sicher aufbewahrt wird, wie es unser großer Freund gewünscht hat, sey nun das im brit. Museum oder in der Rheinprovinz.

Beethoven's manuscripts and musical effects had been sold by auction on 5 November 1827 and subsequent days, just over seven months after his death. A number of letters and documents, however, remained in the hands of his intimate friend, Stephan von Breuning, who gave them to Schindler. In course of time the latter destroyed those he thought to be of little importance. The

remainder, with such Beethoven material as he had himself received direct from the composer, is the collection referred to in the letter. It included a manuscript of the Ninth Symphony, largely in Beethoven's autograph, the Quartet in E minor (op. 59, no. 2), various sketches, thirty-one letters, and the famous Conversation Books.

Though there seems to be no reference to the offer of these manuscripts among the Museum files, further details, at least in Schindler's version, can be gleaned from other sources, though it is not clear what part in the transaction was played by Beale (who is doubtless William Beale, the madrigal-writer and publisher). According to Schindler's story, negotiations which had been previously started with the Royal Library, Berlin, and, through Fétis, with the Belgian Government, had broken down, in the case of the former because the price was considered excessive, and of the latter through lack of funds. Then, in June 1845, according to Schindler, Neate unexpectedly turned up in Aachen with instructions from the Director of the British Museum to inspect the manuscripts on his behalf. After three weeks' work on the documents he recommended that an offer of £1,500 be made. In the meantime, however, hearing of these overtures, Herr David Hansemann, the Prussian commercial magnate, and later Minister of Finance, whose daughter was Schindler's pupil, vehemently urged King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who was attending the Beethoven Festival at Bonn, to prevent the treasures leaving the country, and, as a result, before negotiations with the British Museum could be concluded they were secured for the Royal Library, Berlin, in consideration for the payment to Schindler of an annual pension of 400 thaler.

B. SCHOFIELD

For further details and accusations against Schindler in connexion with these transactions see E. Hüffer, *Anton Felix Schindler*, 1909, pp. 52 sqq.; M. Becker, *A. Schindler, der Freund Beethovens: Sein Tagebuch aus den Jahren 1841-3*, p. 15; A. Bergengrün, *David Hansemann*, 1901, pp. 215, 749.

DENTON WELCH'S *MAIDEN VOYAGE*

ON 7 June 1935 Denton Welch, then a twenty-year-old art student at the Goldsmith School of Art, New Cross, was knocked off his bicycle by a motorist and received injuries to his spine from which he never fully recovered and from the prolonged complications of which he died, aged 33, on 30 December 1948.

At the time of his accident Welch had done very little writing. His paintings, of which a retrospective exhibition was held in London after his death, are perhaps rather precious and artificial, and seem mainly interesting because he later expressed himself so much more fluently in prose; he did, however, continue to paint and indeed in the last years of his life achieved some celebrity as a painter.

But most of the short time that remained to him after his accident was devoted to writing. His bibliography is soon given: the autobiography *Maiden Voyage* (1943), a novel *In Youth is Pleasure* (1945), short stories *Brave and Cruel* (1948), and three posthumously published books—some sketches and stories, a journal, and his last, unfinished novel, 'A Voice Through a Cloud', with which he struggled, a few minutes at a time, during his final illness. The manuscript of his first published book, *Maiden Voyage*, has now been presented to the Department of Manuscripts by Sir Eric Miller through the Friends of the National Libraries. Sir Eric's generous gift (manuscripts of twentieth-century writers currently fetch high prices) has further enriched the Department's small but steadily growing collection of modern literary autographs. The manuscript, which consists of nine exercise books, is now Add. 49062.

In his *Journals* (published posthumously 1952), p. 155, Denton Welch refers to his first book of all, 'the book I began before "*Maiden Voyage*". Through the months of 1940 I plugged at it. Then it suddenly died on me and there was a lapse, until in the autumn or the winter several tiny things suddenly crystallised into the determination, by hook or by crook, to finish a book that began with my running away from Repton and ended in China.' This is an exact description of *Maiden Voyage*. The unfinished manuscript of the abandoned earlier book still survives, written in a schoolboy's exercise book similar to those used in Add. 49062 and in which he did most of his writing. There also exists another set of nine exercise books containing the first draft of *Maiden Voyage* itself, entitled 'Youth's Journey', and taking the story up to p. 270 of the printed book. This manuscript is apparently undated, but Add. 49062, which is the complete book as printed, is dated September (?) 1940–February 1942. On p. 156 of the *Journals* Welch records that the first draft of *Maiden Voyage* was finished by June 1941, so that the first date in Add. 49062 should refer to the beginning of work on the first draft rather than on this final version.

Published in May 1943, *Maiden Voyage* had a considerable success, partly perhaps due to the war. Though it is a self-portrait, it is neither 'intellectual' nor self-conscious, but is a lively and amusing record of things, places, and people, observed and described with great vividness and an odd, original mixture of *naïveté* and sophistication. It laid the foundation of his sadly brief career.

K. W. GRANDSEN

AN OTTOMAN PATENT OF PROTECTION

A DOCUMENT (now Or. 12102) presented to the Department of Oriental Printed Books recently has proved to be a link with the days of English merchants trading in the Levant three centuries ago. It is a *berāt* (*exequatur*), written in a small *Dīvānī* hand with some unusual ligatures, and bears the *Tuğrā* (Imperial Cipher) of Sultān Mehmed IV (1648–87) in red, gold, and blue. After the conventional formula which introduces this type of document, it goes on to say:

The Exemplar of the Lords of Christendom, Sir Thomas Bendish, Bart.,¹ English Ambassador at my Exalted Threshold [i.e. Istanbul] has sent tidings that the Englishman named Joseph Edwards, Consul at divinely-protected Smyrna and the harbours in that district, has been removed from office. This bearer of the Imperial Mandate, the Exemplar of the Notables of Christendom, the upright and competent English gentleman named William Prideaux, has been appointed consul in his place to supervise the affairs of the Company of Merchants and the shipping, both of English nationality and under the English flag, in that quarter, according to the Capitulations. Thus I have given herewith my Imperial and August Sign-manual as I desire that he be given the customary Imperial warrant.

Then follows an account of the duties and privileges of the new Consul. In all cases of difficulty, the factors of the Levant Company were to refer to the Consul with whom the matter of entry into harbours in that area rested. The port charges were to remain unchanged, and no permits were to be given to ships which were not recorded in the consular register. The collection by the Consul of fees for the Company (the so-called Consulate) was authorized, and no customs duty or toll was to be levied on the Consul's clothes, furniture, food, and drink. Diplomatic immunity was to be respected and none of the Consul's staff were to suffer imprisonment or sequestration.² Any disputes involving sums of more than 4,000 *akça*³ were to be referred to the Porte for settlement, but the Consul was empowered to settle all contention in personal relations between Englishmen in his area. All judges were charged to be as careful as possible in their dealings with the other English residents, whose persons and property, both ashore and afloat, were to remain free from molestation. The document ends with the usual command to observe and enforce all the conditions mentioned above, and is dated A.H. 1069 (A.D. 1658–9). It was issued in the Imperial Camp at Izmit, the ancient Nicomedia.

The correspondence and records of the Levant Company throw some light on this appointment. The first mention of Prideaux occurs in a letter signed by Sir

Andrew Riccard, Governor of the Company, and a quorum of the Board, addressed to the Ambassador, which bears the date 19 March 1658-9:

We are sorry for the Death of Consul Bretton for supply of which employment we have made choice of one Mr. William Prideaux, an ancient Gent. who hath bin some time since employed in Russia; whereby and by his travells as wel in some parts of the Levant as elsewhere, hee is, we hope, wel qualified for that service. He wil be speedily dispatched from hence. And therefore we pray your Lordship to procure him such commands and authority as is requisite, with an order both to him and to the Treasurer at Constantinople for a due collection of our consulage upon this and other ships, *etc.*

In the meantime a certain Mr. Joseph Edwards had been selected by the factory as Acting Consul at Smyrna. It has not been possible to find out his previous position, but it is most likely that he was a factor, possibly a relation of others of the same name whom we find mentioned in contemporary records. The Governor and Board of the Company were evidently dissatisfied with the appointment of Edwards, and wrote to him on the same day as the previous letter as follows:

We are sorry for our Loss of the late Consul Mr. Bretton, and although we cannot be very well satisfied with the factories tender and his Lordships approval of your selfe for supply of that office during the vacancy; not questioning your care and fidelity in the management thereof; yet finding we could not with that conveniency proceed to a contract with one at that distance, we have at a general court here chosen for the place of Consul one Mr. William Prideaux, a person formerly engaged in publique negotiations and one of some experience in the Customes and Languages of those parts. Unto whom we pray you to afford your assistance and counsel; as we hope the factors in general will also doe, as there may be occasion. . . .

At this time the upheaval in the home country was reflected in the Levant factories, for the correspondence of this period is full of complaints by the Board about abuses—'irregular voting away of our moneys' and 'insolent factors'. There is little doubt that this lay at the root of the Company's decision to remove Edwards, who appears in three further letters. The first of these bears the date 18 November 1659, and is from the Governor and Board to Prideaux.

Touching Mr. Joseph Edwards who supplied the office of consul til your arrival, we have ordered him nyne monthes salary at the rate of Two Thousand Dollars per annum; and Seaven [*sic*] hundred and fifty dollars more in full of al charges and paines extraordinary which let him be paid and no more. And as for any further allowance made there, We disclaime the same or any such practice in the Factory for giving away our moneys without our order or allowance.

The Board wrote in the same strain to the Treasurer at Smyrna on the same day: 'As for Mr. Joseph Edwards who in the vacancy of a Consul supplied that charge, we have ordered him nyne months salary (though we conceive he officiated but 6), and accordingly you are to account with him defalking [*i.e.* deducting] what he hath already received and take his Acquittance free of all pretensions.'

Finally Edwards makes his exit from the stage of the history of the Company, apparently with some of their money, since on 1 September 1662 he is approached through the then Consul, Baker, to pay back his arrears of Consulage. Prideaux's tenure of office had been very short, for he died just over a year after his arrival at Smyrna.

G. M. MEREDITH-OWENS

¹ An ambassador of royalist sympathies from Steeple Bumpstead in Essex. He held office 1647–60. The ambassadors were granted a daily allowance from the Sultān which was often unobtainable owing to the prevalent corruption. At this time, and for many years afterwards, the Ambassador was introduced to the Grand Signior as the 'naked and hungry barbarian'.

² It was very necessary to mention this. One reads that the Consul never went out without the bodyguard of Janissaries granted to him under the Capitulations, and that Pera, the European quarter of Istanbul, was popularly designated 'Pig District'.

³ Or asper—a silver coin adapted from the Byzantines.

A TIBETAN BUDDHIST RITUAL

AMONG the manuscripts recently acquired by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts is a copy of a Tibetan text (Or. 12103) rejoicing in the copious Sanskrit title *Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-tejo-rājasya Tathāgatasya Arhato Samyak-sambuddhasya kalpa*, which is paraphrased by its Tibetan title as *De bzir glegs pa dgra bcom pa yan dag par rdzogs pai Saṅs rgyas nan soñ thams cad yonṣ su sbyoñ bai gzi brjid kyi rgyal poi brtag pa*, 'an examination of the King of fundamental brilliance who fully purifies all the damned, who has gone on the same [way as his predecessors], the subduer of enemies,¹ the properly quite enlightened one [viz. the Buddha]'; in plain English, the work is a magic ritual of Northern Buddhism intended to ensure salvation from evil influences through esoteric worship of deities of the Buddhist Pantheon. Originally composed in rather canine Sanskrit, it has been translated into Tibetan by the Indian Pandit Śānti-garbha and the Tibetan translator Jaya-rakṣita, and incorporated in the section rGyud of the Kanjur (*bKa'gyur*) of the Tibetan Scriptural Canon. In the Derge recension of the Buddhist Scriptures published by the Tōhoku Imperial University this work figures as no. 483 of the Kanjur, while in Schmidt's Index it appears as no. 176. Our manuscript, which may be of the eighteenth century, and is 13½ by 3½ in., is well written in gold letters on dark ground of thick native paper, embellished with coloured drawings of deities and other beings on folios 2, 11–17, 64, 137, and 171, and figures of Buddhas painted inside both the simply carved wooden boards. Folio 2 displays a picture of the Dhyāni-Buddha Amitāyus (*Thse dpag med*) and the goddess known as White Tārā (*sGrol dkar*); and on folio 171 we see on the left side a lively group of devotees and on the right a deity who is dispensing his grace to them (Pl. ix).

L. D. BARNETT

¹ The Tibetan *dgra bcom pa*, 'subduer of enemies', is an erroneous translation of the Sanskrit *arhat*, which in reality means simply 'worthy', and is applied to saints.

JAPANESE ILLUSTRATED BOOKS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

SOME fine examples of Japanese block-printing were recently acquired by the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts when a part of the collection of Mr. Richard Lane was purchased for the Museum. Mr. Lane, an American collector now living in Tokyo, has made a special study of Japanese popular literature of the Tokugawa period, particularly the *Ukiyozōshi* novels of Ihara Saikaku, and is a considerable authority on Japanese bibliography in general.

The greater part of the eighty-seven volumes just acquired were published between 1630 and 1670, a period when book illustration was developing steadily from the crude technique of the preceding century to the more polished and assured style of Moronobu and his followers. As the demand for illustrated books grew among the new merchant class of Osaka and Edo, such books came to be published in ever-increasing numbers, and drawings for block-printing were contributed by well-known artists instead of by the anonymous craftsmen of heretofore. Illustrations signed by or attributed with fair certainty to such artists as Hinaya Ryūhō, Hishikawa Moronobu, Furuyama Moroshige, Yoshida Hambei, and Ōmori Yoshikiyo are to be found in the collection described here.

The earliest work in the collection is *Bussetsu . . . jūōkyō*^{(a)1} ('Sutra of the Ten Kings of Hell'), a Japanese edition of a Chinese Buddhist work of the Sung period, published by the monk Tokusen in 1594. It contains twenty-three full-page illustrations depicting somewhat crudely but with a lively sense of realism the torments of sinners brought to judgement. Another interesting book, also a Chinese work in Japanese guise, is a treatise on divination entitled *Sanzesō*^{(b)2} ('Aspects of the three worlds: past, present, and future'). This was published in Japan in two volumes in 1635 from the original *San-shih-hsiang*³ by Yüan T'ien-kang. The work is copiously illustrated by an unknown artist with realistic scenes of animal and bird life, together with sketches of human figures. The standard of printing of both text and illustrations is remarkably high, and the work is described by Lane with some justification as 'one of the finest early Japanese illustrated books'. It is also one of the rarest; only one other copy, that in the Ryerson Library of the Art Institute of Chicago, is known to exist.

Stories, essays, diaries, and poetical works from classical Japanese literature are represented in fine seventeenth-century editions. All are illustrated, some in Tosa style and some in the more realistic style developed by Moronobu. Two tales from the Heian period, *Taketori monogatari*⁴ ('The Bamboo-cutter's Tale')

and *Utsubo monogatari*,^{(c)5} published at Kyoto in 1646 and 1660 respectively, belong to the first illustrated editions; and the *Izayoi nikki*,⁶ diary of the Buddhist nun Abutsu-ni, is of the 1659 edition, the only known illustrated edition of this work.

The remainder of the collection consists of popular fiction of the Tokugawa period, with some stories inspired by Buddhism and some semi-historical novels and war tales. Typical of the former category is Shigenaga's *Katakiuchi oi no hanakazura*⁷ ('Revenge of the Flowering Vine'), one of the tales of retribution so beloved of Tokugawa readers. This is believed to be the only full-length novel illustrated by Shigenaga; he was also author of the text. In the latter group is a fine copy of *Eiga monogatari*,⁸ published about 1660 with illustrations by Ryūhō, and an account of the exploits of the *Shōgun* Yoshinaka, *Kiso shōgun Yoshinaka-ki*,⁹ illustrated by Ōmori Yoshiakiyo, which is not mentioned in any of the standard Japanese bibliographies.

Earlier in date, and in fact the first popular novel of the Tokugawa period, is *Chikusai monogatari*,¹⁰ represented here in the first edition of c. 1630. Technically, the standard of printing and illustration is understandably lower than that of later novels such as the *Tadasu monogatari*¹¹ of 1677 and *Bunshō-zōshi*¹² of 1664. *Tadasu monogatari*, a *Kana-zōshi* novel strongly Buddhist in tone, has the advantage of nine full-page illustrations reputedly by the hand of Moronobu. Moronobu has at one time or another been credited with illustrating a sizeable proportion of the literary output of the seventeenth century, but in this case there does seem to be a good case for accepting the attribution. One of Moronobu's most talented pupils, Furuyama Moroshige, is credited with the illustration of *Mujō Chōmu Monogatari* (Tale of a Fleeting Dream), another novel with a markedly Buddhist flavour. A double-page picture from this work is reproduced in Pl. x.

Finally there are five *Ukiyo-zōshi*, popular novels centred on town life and the pleasures of the Yoshiwara, which were published chiefly at Osaka and Kyoto in response to the growing demand for light reading by the rising bourgeois class. In this literary genre the work of Ihara Saikaku stands supreme, and here the Museum has profited by Mr. Lane's special interest in the novels of this author. All three of the Saikaku *Ukiyo-zōshi* offered by Mr. Lane were purchased. They are: *Nippon citai-gura*¹³ (6 vols., Osaka, 1688), *Saikaku oridome*¹⁴ (2nd edition, 6 vols., Osaka, 1712), and *Seken mune sanyō*¹⁵ (2nd edition, 5 vols., Osaka, 1699). Of these, the last item is of particular interest; it is reputed to be the only surviving copy in this edition. These acquisitions are all the more welcome since the Museum has hitherto possessed only a few early illustrated editions of Saikaku's novels. One of Saikaku's best known contemporaries, Ejima Kiseki, is the author of another *Ukiyo-zōshi* in this collection: *Akindo gumpai uchiwa*¹⁶ (Kyōto, c. 1712). This is a rare novel, attractively illustrated by Kawashima Nobukiyo; it is his only known signed work.

Early Japanese block-printed books become more and more scarce year by

year. The Museum is fortunate in having acquired from a discerning collector, well qualified to discover items of value, a number of handsome books which are rarely met with today, even in Japan.

K. B. GARDNER

(a) Described in Louise N. Brown, *Block Printing and Book Illustration in Japan*, p. 22, and in K. Toda, *Descriptive Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Illustrated Books in the Ryerson Library of the Art Institute of Chicago*, p. 20.

(b) See Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32, and Toda, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

(c) This is the edition described in *ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

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| 1. 佛說地藏菩薩發 | 9. 木曾將軍義仲記 |
| 心因緣十王經 | |
| 2. 三世相 | 10. 竹齋物語 |
| 3. 三世相 | 11. 糺物語 |
| 4. 竹取物語 | 12. 文正草子 |
| 5. 宇都保物語 | 13. 日本永代藏 |
| 6. 十六夜日記 | 14. 西鶴織留 |
| 7. 敵討笑花葛 | 15. 世間胸算用 |
| 8. 榮華物語 | 16. 商人軍配圖 |

RECENT ACQUISITIONS OF GREEK COINS

I. A NEW TETRADRACHM OF CYRENE

FOR the second time in a few years the Museum has been fortunate enough to acquire a Greek coin of major importance and of entirely new type: the silver tetradrachm (weight 17.08 gm.) of Cyrene illustrated on Pl. xi A, B, (with the obverse shown enlarged by $2\frac{1}{2}$ diameters) is certainly the most impressive acquisition made in the field of Greek coinage since the Museum obtained the piece bearing the portrait of Tissaphernes in 1947 (and illustrated in *B.M.Q.* xv, 1941-50, pl. xx. 8).

The obverse side shows the head of Zeus, whose cult at Cyrene as Zeus-Ammon was derived from that of the Egyptian Ammon at the Siwa oasis. Prominent on his head is shown Ammon's great ram's horn. Two coils of hair pass round the

head, and wavy strands fall down beside the neck. The eye is handled in the archaic manner, almost fully in frontal view though set in a profile head; the inner corner of the eye, however, is partly opened, and the eyeball plastically modelled, in a way reminiscent of the treatment used by the die-engravers in Sicily. The placing of this splendid head on the obverse, instead of on the reverse of the coin, is a noteworthy feature—it has no precedent at Cyrene, nor was the head so placed again on a Cyrenaic coin for another hundred years; from the point of view of coinage technique the use of the obverse die, which is the one embedded in the anvil and supported by it, enables the engraver to work more boldly and to cut the design in deeper relief. The engraver responsible for this head is clearly one of the masters of his time: his Zeus-Ammon is perhaps the finest surviving image of the god, of unrivalled grandeur and force.

The reverse is also of great interest: here we see the head of a bridled horse confronted by a plant of silphium (the staple product of ancient Cyrenaica, now extinct), and one of the silphium seeds in between. This design follows the Cyrenaic mint's earlier tradition of displaying such composite types as a gazelle-with-silphium or a lion's head-with-silphium:¹ but the bridled horse is a new addition to the repertoire. It might conceivably refer to a victory with horses at one of the great Hellenic games—such a victory as was won by King Arcesilas IV of Cyrene with a four-horse chariot at Delphi in 462 or at Olympia in 460 B.C. But no earlier victories than these seem to be recorded for Cyrene, though we might expect the city to be prominent in such pursuits at an early date, if Herodotus (iv. 189) is right in saying that it was from the Libyans that the Greeks learned the use of four-horse chariots.²

On stylistic grounds we must date the new coin shortly after the Persian wars, c. 480–475 B.C.: and its issue may well have something to do with the fact that Cyrenaica was now free of Persian overlordship.

II. SELECTION OF COINS ACQUIRED FROM THE LOCKETT COLLECTION

From the sale of the first Greek portion of the Lockett collection, comprising coins of Italy, Sicily, and the West, the Museum was able, with the aid of a generous contribution from the Lockett family, to acquire some interesting specimens: requirements were not numerous, however, as this particular range of coinages is one in which the National Collection is already very rich, not least as a result of the Lloyd Bequest (see *B.M.Q.* xvi, 1951, pp. 14 f.).

Pl. xi, 1–5, are Greek coins of Italy. No. 1 is a didrachm of Hyria (c. 350 B.C.), a Campanian city whose site is uncertain but whose coinage attests close connexions with Naples, Nola, and Fensernia. The usual obverse type (a helmeted head of Athena) is here, exceptionally, replaced by a nymph's head identical in character with some obverses of Naples and Nola: perhaps an

actual die borrowed from one of the latter. The reverse is a human-headed bull, standing for a river-god. No. 2 is a didrachm of Tarentum (c. 300 B.C.) showing a galloping horseman, and on the reverse Taras, the mythical founder of the city, riding on a dolphin: it is a rare variety of the type. No. 3 is a very rare didrachm of Thurium, with obverse head of Athena in a late-style helmet adorned with a leaping griffin, reverse, butting bull, above which hovers a victory—the latter a most unusual feature at Thurium: as the piece dates from the early part of the third century B.C., is it perhaps to be connected with one of Thurium's successful appeals to Rome for help against the Lucanian barbarians (e.g. in 282 B.C.)?

No. 4 is a small but important coin of Rhegium, whose silver coinage had ceased in the fourth century but revived temporarily c. 270–260 B.C. at the time of the alliance with Rome. The revived issue consisted of small denominations only, of which the largest,³ the Rhegine 'talent' referred to in the metrological writers, was only the equivalent of the later Roman victoriatus (c. 3.3 gm.). Our coin, showing the head of Apollo and on the reverse the Delphic omphalos, represents one-third of this value (wt. 1.12 gm.): it is the first piece of the series to find a place in the Museum's collection. The dating seems assured by the presence of a piece belonging to the same series in the hoard from Vulcano buried c. 260 B.C.⁴

No. 5 is an extremely rare coin of the so-called 'incuse' fabric common in Italy c. 500 B.C. (the reverse side repeats in intaglio the relief design of the obverse). The type is a bull with head turned back—a rather crude version of the bull of Sybaris—with the inscription *SO* retrograde above. It has been held that this stands for the name of the Sontini, a tribe of Lucania mentioned by Pliny (*N.H.* iii. 15) in such a context as to imply that the name is very probably preserved at Sanza, a town inland to the north of Policastro (the ancient Pyxous).⁵ The find-spot of our specimen is not known, but the only other so far discovered came from Rogliano to the south of Cosenza. This fact, together with the weight (our coin is 5.78 gm.) which is of the Chalcidian standard used at Rhegium at the time in question, might be held to argue a place of mintage in Bruttium rather than in Lucania. If so, it cannot after all be a coin of the Sontini.

Pl. xi, 6 and 7 are Sicilian. No. 6 is a didrachm of Gela, c. 490 B.C., the reverse of which, the forepart of a man-headed bull (the river-god Gelas), is in unusually majestic style, while the obverse bears an armed horseman with spear, a member of the famous Geloan cavalry. It is a very rare variety of the horseman type, moving to the left (the usual direction is to the right) and drawn with his back to the spectator. No. 7 is a silver tetradrachm of c. 360 B.C. minted in Punic Sicily. On the reverse appears a horse and palm-tree, the constant badge of the Carthaginian state: on the obverse, the head of the goddess Tanit, who, far from being the almost pedantically close copy of the Syracusan Arethusa which is usually found on the early Punic coins, here has a distinctively Punic aspect. She

has produced, persuaded the Trustees to devote no less a sum than four thousand guineas to the acquisition of the entire collection of the youthful virtuoso Barré Charles Roberts. This disinterested purchase laid the foundation of the present strength of the Museum's Anglo-Gallic collection, as well as supplying many important pieces in other series, the Anglo-Saxon excepted.² In the case of the Lockett Sale, advantage has been taken of a unique opportunity both of building up the French series where serious gaps are still to be found, and of reinforcing the Museum's collection, already by no means negligible, of continental imitations of late Saxon pence. These imitations, mainly Scandinavian, have not received from English numismatists the attention that they deserve, and the new acquisitions will form in due course the subject of another note. The present paper is intended to illustrate and briefly to describe only the fifteen medieval gold coins which were acquired by the Trustees from their own resources. A sixteenth gold coin, an extraordinarily choice double ducat of Louis XII struck at Milan, has been registered as the gift of the Lockett executors, and merits separate publication. It is also technically a modern and not a medieval coin.

The Museum's collection of Merovingian tremisses, the standard gold currency of western Europe in the sixth and seventh centuries, is still far from being complete. Obviously it is not possible or even desirable to compete with the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the series is one that is unusually relevant to our national heritage, as Merovingian tremisses circulated freely on this side of the Channel, and were in fact the prototypes of the ephemeral gold coinage of the Anglo-Saxons.³ Mrs. Pretty's munificent donation of the forty coins from Sutton Hoo can never be matched⁴—except in the unlikely event of the discovery and acquisition of an even more splendid hoard—but eight of the Lockett coins form a notable accession of material. One (Pl. xii, 1) adds the mint of Rennes to the collection—the mint signature REDONIS is particularly clear—while two are from Frisia, one (Pl. xii, 2) a coin of good style and the other (Pl. xii, 3) a very late imitative copy of a piece of Duerstedé. Pieces comparable to the last have been in the Museum for well over a century, but unfortunately without record of provenance, and the Duerstedé imitation is welcome because it is known to have been found at Pontefract. Another mint not hitherto represented in the collection is 'Patigaso', not as yet identified but probably to be located in the vicinity of Tours (Pl. xii, 4). The remaining four tremisses present many problems for the numismatist. The interdependence of the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian series is well exemplified by a coin (Pl. xii, 5) which has been considered by more than one French numismatist as English, doubtless because of affinities between the unusual reverse type of a facing bust flanked by two crosses and the obverse of certain London tremisses not very convincingly associated with Bishop Mellitus. Three further coins illustrate admirably progressive stylistic deterioration in the seventh century. On one (Pl. xii, 6) the reverse type of a winged

victory holding a cross is recognizable though crudely expressed, and the letters of the legend are legible if meaningless. On the second (Pl. xii, 7) the bust on the obverse is still reasonably close to the Roman prototype, but the letters of the legend are expressed by simple strokes which give a curious nimbate effect. Both as regards portrait and epigraphy, a third coin (Pl. xii, 8) reaches the limit of degradation.

Between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries silver and not gold formed the basis of currency in western Europe, but once the return to the gold standard had become inevitable it was achieved with remarkable speed. Both in England and in France there was a premature experiment, Henry III's gold penny of 1257 and the *écu d'or* of Saint Louis struck in 1266. Unfortunately no specimen of the latter is in an English collection, but at the Lockett Sale the Museum was able to acquire certain other early gold pieces of the French kings which are of particular interest because they antedate considerably the successful introduction of a gold coinage in England. Between 1290 and 1311 Philip IV struck no fewer than six denominations in gold, and hitherto the Museum has possessed solitary examples of only three. Consequently a major acquisition was a particularly fine example of a fourth, the *chaise d'or* of 1303 (Pl. xii, 9) of which denomination a French numismatist has justly remarked, 'La Chaise, ou Chaire d'or, est la première des belles monnaies au type de la stalle gothique a pinacles et flèches pyramidales. Elle inaugure un genre de rosace plus simple. . . Elle dura peu; elle est rare.'⁵ It was struck in a gold theoretically unalloyed, and the metal was far too soft to be really suitable for coinage, hence the extreme difficulty of obtaining really fine specimens. It is for this reason, too, that the Museum was fortunate in securing at the same sale a very choice example of the *denier d'or à la reine* of 1305 (Pl. xii, 10), the denomination struck for the distribution of the alms prescribed in the will of Queen Jeanne. Hitherto this very rare piece had been represented in the Museum by an inferior coin, incidentally from very different dies, which was so worn as not to do justice to the superb artistry of the French school of die-cutting.

Philip's successors Louis X and Philip V are believed to have struck only one denomination in gold, the *agnei d'or* introduced by Philip in 1311. Until now the Museum had not possessed a specimen from either reign, but the Lockett sale has provided a very fine example of the *agnei* of Louis X, of which the attribution is indisputable (Pl. xii, 11). Pending new hoard evidence it is doubtful if there will ever be a final answer to the question whether any gold coins of Philip V have in fact survived, but there is general agreement among numismatists that if any *agnei* is his it is that with a symbol, in the case of the Lockett coin (Pl. xii, 12) a cross beneath the royal name.

It was the success of the French gold coinage that impelled Edward III to make a new attempt to introduce a gold currency into England, and significantly

enough his first essays were made in his French domains. As remarked earlier, the Museum's Anglo-Gallic collection is particularly representative, but there are a few gaps. Another most advantageous purchase at the Lockett sale was an *écu* or *chaise* struck c. 1340. The issue was a fairly large one, but documentary evidence shortly to be published establishes the existence of successive emissions of varying purity, differentiated it would seem by the form of stopping employed in the legends. The new acquisition (Pl. xii, 13) has colons on the obverse and double saltires on the reverse, and is believed to be a unique mule. Here again one cannot but admire the supreme artistry of the die-engraver. Of less obvious merit are a late fifteenth-century *genovino d'oro* (Pl. xii, 14) struck for Battista di Campofregoso, the penultimate doge of Genoa, and an *espadim d'oro* of his contemporary John II of Portugal with the interesting reverse type of a hand grasping a sword (Pl. xii, 15).

R. H. M. DOLLEY

¹ For earlier purchases cf. *B.M.Q.* xx. 66-71 and 84-87; xxi. 15-18.

² Cf. *B.M.Q.* xviii. 78. The figure of £4,000 which appears in the *D.N.B.* account of Roberts is perhaps due to a misinterpretation of the 'quatuor mille aureorum' in Taylor Combe's introduction to *Veterum Populorum et Regum Numi*. In 1814 the standard gold coin of this country was still the guinea, valued at twenty-one

shillings. Any lingering doubts concerning the correctness of Dr. Walker's version are put at rest by an order of the Trustees dated 12 January 1811 that 'the sum of £4,200 be paid to Mr. Roberts for the above collection'.

³ Cf. *B.M.Q.* xx. 13-15.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.* xii. 126-8.

⁵ J. Lafaurie, *Les Monnaies des Rois de France* (Paris, 1951), p. 28.

RARE COINS OF THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE

IN the course of the past year or so the Roman part of the coin collection has been enriched by the acquisition of a number of coins which, because of their rarity or their intrinsic interest or both, merit publication.

Pride of place undoubtedly goes to the aureus of Diadumenian¹ (Pl. xiii, 1), the son of Macrinus, whose reign lasted just over a year in A.D. 217-18. The aureus of Diadumenian is one of the greatest rarities in the Roman coinage, and Diadumenian was one of the few Imperial personages of whom the national collection did not possess a gold piece. The reverse of this coin presents the usual type of the heir-apparent as *Princeps Juventutis*, clad in military dress, holding a standard and sceptre with, to right, a legionary eagle and another standard. The portrait is of unusual interest, for the lad Diadumenian is one of the few personages of this period of whose features and bearing we have a detailed description: the *Historia Augusta* says that he was 'puer omnium speciosissimus'² and describes his every feature in highly complimentary fashion. The coin portrait scarcely lives up to the flattering description, particularly the very prominent nose—not the aquiline Roman nose which the historian's *naso deducto* suggests. Quite apart from its other merits the coin, formerly in the Jameson collection, is

most remarkably well preserved. The coin can never have been in circulation, for the details of design and the lettering are sharp and fresh and the coin still has the 'bloom' which one sees on a coin straight from the mint.

The rare $1\frac{1}{2}$ -scripulum piece of Constantine the Great came from a collection which has been broken up only in the last two years, after remaining intact for close on two and a half centuries since its formation by the famous Venetian man of letters, Apostolo Zeno.³ One of the subdivisions of the solidus, the major unit of the gold coinage as reformed by Constantine about A.D. 312, was this $1\frac{1}{2}$ -scripulum piece weighing 1.70 gm. This denomination stood in no convenient relation to the rest of Constantine's gold system and seems to have been struck only in comparatively small numbers, judging by the rarity of specimens. This remarkably well-preserved specimen (Pl. xiii, 2) shows the draped bust of Constantine wearing a diadem with rosette ornaments. The reverse, depicting Victory inscribing with the words *Vot xxx* a shield supported by Cupid, refers to the vows taken on the occasion of Constantine's *vicennalia* in A.D. 326, expressing the hope that his rule would extend to thirty years. The coin was struck at the mint of Thessalonica.

Although the great Republican office of consul was not, in the event, one of the prime factors in the emperor's hold on power as developed by Augustus, it was traditionally held with varying frequency by successive emperors. The event was recorded in the early principate by the inclusion of the consulship in the emperor's titles on coins and, increasingly in the third century, by special reverse types such as that depicting the *processus consularis*, but from the time of Constantius II onwards (A.D. 323-60) the occasion of the holding of the office of consul by the emperor was marked by a special issue of gold solidi depicting on the obverse the left-facing bust of the emperor in ornate consular robes holding the *mappa* and sceptre. A solidus of Constantius II (Pl. xiii, 3), the earliest emperor in this series of 'consular' solidi, was recently acquired at a Paris sale.⁴ That the consulship in question was the ninth of Constantius II in A.D. 357 is confirmed by the reverse, which refers to the vows discharged in the year A.D. 357-8 in honour of thirty-five years completed rule by Constantius and with the expressed hope of his completing forty years. The coin was struck at the mint of Rome.

The value in the Roman field of the T. W. Armitage Bequest received this year by the Museum has been that it has added much to the long runs of later imperial coins differentiated by *officina* letters. Of the rarities which it did include was a silver coin of Constantius II (Pl. xiii, 4) celebrating again the *vota* for years of rule, this time the vows celebrated in A.D. 353. Coins recording this particular celebration are themselves not uncommon but pieces of this issue from the mint of Aquileia, such as the present coin, are rarities.

The $1\frac{1}{2}$ -scripulum in gold, mentioned above, was replaced in the reign of

Theodosius I by the gold tremisis, a third of the solidus, a more convenient and, thus, generally a more common denomination than the $1\frac{1}{2}$ -scripulum. A recently acquired example of this denomination of the emperor Arcadius struck at the mint of Milan is, however, a rarity (Pl. xiii, 5). This mint in the later fourth century was at first only sporadically active when the emperor's presence there required an output in the precious metals, but later, as the city became a regular imperial residence, output became more consistent. In the period between 383 and the summer of 387 Valentinian II at first issued very little coinage for his colleague Theodosius and his son Arcadius, and it was only as the danger from the usurper Maximus increased, and Valentinian's need of the support from Theodosius became more pressing, that the coinage for the eastern colleagues becomes somewhat more frequent. It is to the earlier period that the present tremisis of Arcadius belongs.

The last coin is a very rare early solidus of Theodosius II.⁵ This emperor, the son of Arcadius, the eastern Augustus, was born in 401, but as early as 402 he was associated as Augustus with his father and his uncle Honorius. The small narrow bust of this coin is typical of the early issues of Theodosius II, but that the issue is very early is apparent from the reverse. Issues at Constantinople for the brothers Arcadius and Honorius have the inscription *CONCORDIA AVGG*, followed by a Greek numeral indicating the *officina*. The die of the present coin is one for the older emperors, with the reading *CONCORDIA AVGGS* (stigma = 6) altered to read *AVGGG*, indicating the association of Theodosius II as the third Augustus (Pl. xiii, 6).

R. A. G. CARSON

¹ Hess Sale, 27 March 1956, lot 405.

² SHA *Diadumenian* 3. 2.

³ Dorotheum Sale, 13 June 1955, lot 2235.

⁴ Ciani Sale, 7 May 1955, lot 459.

⁵ Hess Sale, 5 April 1955, lot 164.

ORIENTAL COINS

THE Department of Coins and Medals has, in recent years, acquired some notable Oriental coins, which are illustrated on Pl. xiii, 7-12. All are silver with the exception of the last one, which is gold.

Sassanian coins, as a general rule, are common, but within the series there are occasional rarities. The drachm reproduced (Pl. xiii, 7) is one of these. It shows on the obverse the facing bust of the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty, Ardashir I (A.D. 224-41), and on the reverse the bust of his father Pāpak facing to the left. The Pehlevi legend reads: *The Divine Ardashīr the King son of the Divine Pāpak the King*. Only a few specimens are known of this coin, and the present one is the best preserved.¹ It was probably minted by Ardashir at Istakhr, the ancient Persepolis, in A.D. 211/12, when he succeeded his father as ruler of Persis before his overwhelming defeat of the last Parthian monarch, Artabanus,

in 224, and the establishment of the Sassanian Empire with himself as King of Kings of Iran. This remarkable piece, a most attractive example of Sassanian numismatic art, is said to have been found by chance on the banks of the River Eden near Rockcliffe in Cumberland, just above high-water mark. The coin was purchased with money from the Roebling Fund.

The next item (Pl. xiii, 8) is a drachm of one of the last kings of the same Dynasty, namely Khusrau V (A.D. 632/3). Very little is known concerning this tragic young monarch, whose coins are exceedingly rare. Only three specimens are recorded, including the present one. The obverse bears the conventional bust of the Sassanian king, facing to the right and wearing a winged crown. On the reverse can be seen the Zoroastrian fire-altar flanked by two attendants. The mint-signature $\text{N} \text{H} \check{\text{C}}$ (location uncertain) is on the right; on the left is the date (year) 2, i.e. A.D. 633. The coin came from the collection of the late Sir Charles Oman.

When the Sassanian Empire was swallowed up by the Islamic hordes from Arabia the conquerors wisely adopted the style of coinage current in their new domains. The Caliphs and Governors kept on their silver coins the conventional portrait of the Sassanian king with winged head-dress on the obverse, and the fire-altar and two attendants on the reverse. Even the legends in Pehlevi were for a long time retained, with occasional Arabic ones interspersed. The two dirhams illustrated (Pl. xiii, 9 and 10) are typical specimens of this Arab-Sassanian coinage. Both are extremely rare. No. 9 has a Pehlevi legend on the obverse which reads: *'Abd al-Malik Commander of the Faithful*; while traces can be seen in the margin of the Arabic legend: *In the name of Allah*. On the right of the fire-altar on the reverse is the signature of the mint of Dārābjird in Persia, while on the left is the date equivalent to A.D. 691. The coin is unfortunately somewhat worn and has been mounted for suspension. It is, however, an unpublished variety. 'Abd al-Malik is, of course, the fifth Umayyad Caliph, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, who reigned A.D. 684-705.

Coin no. 10 is an exceedingly rare example of the same type as the previous one, but with the Pehlevi legend *Khālid ibn 'Abdallah* and the marginal legend in Arabic: *In the name of Allah; Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah*. On the reverse the Pehlevi legends give the mint-name *Basra*, and the date (A.H.) 75 = A.D. 694. Khālid was the Governor of the great fortress-city of Basra in Iraq under the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān, and was actually deposed in the year the coin was minted. Only one other specimen of Khālid's coinage of the mint of Basra was known² until this much finer example was generously presented to the Museum by Dr. Robert Göbl of Vienna University.

The Arab-Sassanian type of coin in the East in due course was displaced by the pure Muhammadan type without images, following the celebrated coinage reform under the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik,³ but in the province of Ṭabaristān, south

of the Caspian Sea, the Arab-Sassanian type still lingered on even until the time of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs. The coins of the Arab Governors of Ṭabaristān were, however, of much smaller module, in fact they were hemidrachms or half-dirhams. Through the generosity of Mr. M. Azizbeglou of Teheran the Museum has been presented with a particularly fine specimen of one of these coins of a kind that was previously known only by a rather indifferent example in the Berlin Museum.⁴ This coin (Pl. xiii, 11) shows on the obverse the usual Sassanian type of bust with winged crown facing to the right. The Pehlevi legend in the field and the Arabic legend in the margin read 'Umar ibn al-'Alā. On the reverse the Pehlevi legend on the right of the fire-altar and attendants reads Ṭabaristān; while on the left is the date in Pehlevi equivalent to A.D. 776.

The British Museum's collection of gold coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty of India is perhaps the finest in the world.⁵ It is, therefore, all the more gratifying to record a most notable addition to that series in the form of a gold stater of King Kumāragupta I (A.D. 414-55). The king appears on the obverse on horseback with sword in hand, riding to the right, attacking a rhinoceros. The legend has been read as *Kumāragupta is continually victorious*. On the reverse there is depicted the goddess Gaṅgā standing to the left on an elephant-headed crocodile holding a lotus in its trunk; behind stands a female attendant holding an umbrella. The legend reads: *His Majesty who has the sword of the mighty Indra*.⁶ The coin, which is extremely rare, is undoubtedly a most valuable specimen of Indian *Kleinkunst*, of high artistic merit and throwing some light on hunting in ancient India.

J. WALKER

¹ For other examples see F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, pl. 1, nos. 4-10.

² See B.M. *Catalogue of Arab-Sassanian Coins*, p. 109, fig. 5.

³ See B.M. *Catalogue of Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad Coins*, pp. liii ff.

⁴ See H. Nützel: *Katalog der orientalischen Münzen*, i, no. 215, pl. iii.

⁵ See B.M. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*.

⁶ I am indebted to the late Dr. John Allan for the interpretation of these two legends.

NEW BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES

FEW of the many cuneiform inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian, sometimes called Chaldaean Empire (626-539 B.C.) are historical narratives. The history of this period has to a great extent, therefore, to be reconstructed from Old Testament or from classical sources such as Berossus, a priest of Babylon in the fourth century B.C.,¹ and from the scanty historical allusions made in the building inscriptions of the rulers of the period. An important exception is a group of documents, called 'The Babylonian Chronicle' after the title given to the first text published in 1887.² That tablet (B.M. 92502) outlined the history of Babylonia from the rule of Nabu-naṣir to Šamaš-šum-ukin (i.e. c. 747-648 B.C.) and was itself a copy of an older and damaged text made in the twenty-second

year of Darius.³ The Chronicle gives a year-by-year account of the principal national events, both secular and religious, in an objective and reliable manner. Further texts of the same kind in our Babylonian Collection which cover a later period are the Chronicle for the years 616–609 B.C. (B.M. 21901), of which the main event was the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.,⁴ and that for the reign of Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.—B.M. 35382).⁵

Four additional texts of the Babylonian Chronicle have now been published by the Trustees of the Museum.⁶ The tablets, written in a small Neo-Babylonian script, were acquired in 1896–8 with other texts which presumably originated from Babylon itself⁷ and are now numbered B.M. 25127, 22047, 21946, 25124.

B.M. 25127, which has the upper left corner broken, bears 41 lines of inscription and covers the years 626–622 B.C. (Pl. xiv, *a*).⁸ It describes the growing opposition of the Babylonians to the Assyrian army incursions under Sin-šar-iškun. Noteworthy matters amid the varying fortunes of the struggle are the Babylonian defeat of the last Assyrian attempt to recapture the capital and the accession of the Chaldaean Nabopolassar as king at Babylon on the twenty-sixth of Marcheswan (22/23 November 626 B.C.) after a year without any recognized ruler. The Chronicle thus gives a date for this event, hitherto lacking in Babylonian history, and helps to classify some of the chronological problems of the period of Assyria's final decline.

B.M. 22047 is a small complete tablet with 28 lines of script ($2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$ in.) relating the history of the eighteenth to twentieth years of Nabopolassar (608–605 B.C.). Since the text continues the narration of events previously described in the Nineveh Chronicle (B.M. 21901) its main importance is that it shows the fortunes of Babylon after the defeat of Aššur-uballiṣ, the last King of Assyria, and of his Egyptian supporters at Harran (Pl. xiv, *b*).⁹ Further military operations north of Nineveh are followed by a series of clashes with the Egyptian forces based on Carchemish, who finally drove the Babylonians from the Upper Euphrates region by defeating them at Quramati in the spring of 605 B.C.

The chronicle tablet B.M. 21946¹⁰ continues the historical record without break for the years 605–594 B.C. (Pl. xiv, *c*). This tablet is closest in script to B.M. 21901; its contents show a complete change in the fortunes of Babylon. Soon after the disaster at Quramati the crown prince, Nebuchadrezzar, leads the army direct to Carchemish where he utterly defeats the Egyptians save for 'a remnant of the Egyptian army which had escaped from the defeat [so quickly that] no weapon had reached them. In the district of Hamath the Babylonian troops overtook and defeated them so that not a single man escaped to his own country'. 'At that time', relates the Chronicle, 'Nebuchadrezzar conquered the whole of the Hatti-country' (i.e. Syria–Palestine). There follows an account of the death of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar's swift return to take his father's place on the throne at Babylon, and of the seven years of military campaigns

against Hatti. The reception of tribute from 'all the kings of Hatti' in person, among whom must have been Jehoiakim of Judah,¹¹ took place in 604 B.C. Ashkelon was sacked in the same year, an event hitherto only suspected from other sources,¹² and a major battle, of which no previous hint has been available, resulted in the defeat of the Babylonians at the hand of Egypt in 601 B.C. For Nebuchadrezzar's seventh year the Chronicle records the capture of Jerusalem with its king and much tribute, and the replacement of the king by a Babylonian nominee. This is a clear reference to the capture of Jehoiachin and his replacement by Zedekiah (2 Kings xxiv. 10-17). Since the date of this renowned event, which inaugurated the Jewish exile, is given as the second of Adar (15/16 March 597 B.C.) an exact date in both biblical and Babylonian history is ascertainable for the first time.¹³ In 595 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar had to suppress an army rebellion in Babylon which resulted, perhaps, from the long and repeated military operations he had been forced to undertake.

One further Chronicle text, B.M. 25124 (Pl. xiv, d), comes from a later reign and describes a military campaign in Cilicia by Neriglissar, King of Babylon, in his third year (557/6 B.C.). Hitherto this ruler, possibly the Nergal-sharezer who was *rab mag* at the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.,¹⁴ has not been known to have left Babylon. The picture now given shows him in personal command of his troops pursuing the fugitive Appuašu, King of Pirindu, through the hills of Cilicia Tracheia. Although they failed to capture the king, the Babylonians sacked two cities, carried out a sea-borne assault on an island, and generally devastated the country as far as the Lydian border. Such action must have merited the approbation of the Median allies of Babylon.

The history of Babylonia between 616-594 B.C. is now known with a gap of only six years. The insight into the late sixth century afforded by the Neriglissar Chronicle gives promise that one day the whole of the story of the fall of Babylon in 539 B.C., one of the most crucial periods in the history of the world, will be made known to us from contemporary sources.

D. J. WISEMAN

¹ Known from extracts in Alexander Polyhistor, Eusebius, Josephus, and others.

² H. Winckler and J. N. Strassmaier, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, ii. 163-8; T. G. Pinches, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1887, pp. 655-81.

³ i.e. 500/499 B.C. if Darius I.

⁴ C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (British Museum, 1923).

⁵ Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (1924), pp. 98-123.

⁶ D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, British Museum, 1956. This work includes a new edition of 'The Fall of Nineveh Chronicle' (B.M. 21901).

⁷ The internal evidence of the chronicles themselves supports this.

⁸ Measurements: $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

⁹ i.e. 608-606 B.C.

¹⁰ Forty-nine lines: size $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{16}$ in.

¹¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 7.

¹² Saqqara papyrus No. 86,984 (Cairo Museum). A. Dupont-Sommer, *Semitica*, i (1948), 43-68. See *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, p. 28.

¹³ Thus the exile began at 'the turn of the year' (2 Chron. xxxvi. 10). The exiles leaving for Babylon in the eighth year of Nebuchadrezzar (2 Kings xxiv. 12).

¹⁴ Jer. xxxix. 3, 13 (a military title).

THE STAPLEFORD GOLD ACORN CUP

THIS extremely beautiful cup, purchased through Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., for a substantial sum from the Rector and Churchwardens of the Parish of Stapleford, Leicester, with the aid of a generous contribution of nearly half the total cost by the National Art-Collections Fund, is the earliest known piece of English secular gold plate. It is $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. high, made of solid 22 carat gold, and, though unmarked, can be dated by exact analogies with marked examples of English silver to within a year or two of A.D. 1610. It bears an engraved inscription: 'This Cup left to ye Church of Stapleford by ye Rt. Honble Bennet Earl of Harborough who departed this life Octr. 16 1732'—an illustration of the practice whereby lay patrons gave their secular silver and gold plate for Church use to replace the ecclesiastical plate melted down at the time of the Reformation and during the Civil Wars.

This cup was seen in London in 1955 at the Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Plate of Domestic Origin, held at Christie's and sponsored by the *Daily Telegraph* in aid of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust.¹

The bowl, in the form of an acorn, the upper portion of which forms a detachable cover surmounted by a baluster finial, is exquisitely poised on a twisted branch. The high circular foot of the cup is chased with acanthus foliage and its flange has an ovolo moulding. The donor's arms and crest and the sacred trigram IHS in a glory were engraved on the upper part of the bowl at the same time as the inscription (Pl. xv).

Only one other English acorn cup is known, the Westbury Cup, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A. This is of silver-gilt with hallmarks of 1585, but is a piece of much less beauty and distinction than the Stapleford Cup. The form is also preserved in a glass of seventeenth-century German origin in the Slade collection in the Museum.

HUGH TAIT

¹ See *Catalogue of Silver Treasures from English Churches* (1955), Cat. No. 79, p. 31.

AN ENAMELLED DISK-BROOCH

THROUGH the generosity of Mr. John Hewett the Museum has acquired as a gift a remarkable ninth-century disk-brooch (reg. no. 1956, 11-1, 1). The piece was recognized by a member of the Museum staff in a lot consisting of thirteenth-century enamels which appeared in the recent Lucas Sale¹ at Messrs. Christies. The brooch, which is 6.8 cms. in diameter, is an enamelled gilt-bronze disk with a border of animals in relief and a raised centre, within which is an *agnus dei* against a background of blue and red enamel (Pl. xvi, a).

The border of the brooch is very worn and it is difficult to distinguish the different animals as the pattern is not continuous. There seem to be three distinct creatures on the border. The clearest animal (which occurs twice on the brooch—at top right and bottom left) has an open mouth and protruding tongue, a bent hind-leg and a tail which crosses the neck of the animal behind it. The animal to the top left occurs three times; it is a backward-looking animal with rabbit-like ears, bent hind-leg, and straight fore-leg. The third creature, which appears three times on the border of the brooch, is a standing bird: it is to be seen on either side of the pair of holes on the left-hand side and, in a more elaborate form, opposite. The border is pierced in seven places, the shanks of two rivets remain, and the hole to the top right is caused by wear. Between the band of animal ornament and the central panel is a billeted border. Inside the central panel, which is raised and circular, is a nimbed backward-looking quadruped, presumably an *agnus dei* (without a banner). The animal has a double contour and is speckled all over, the nimb is spoked and the mouth is open. The neck is segmented and there is perhaps the suggestion of an eye or an ear at the top of the head. The interior of the nimb and the space between the back-leg and the tail is inlaid with red enamel. The rest of the field, with the exception of a series of five small bronze roundels (three in front of the animal, one above the rump, and one between the legs), is filled with blue enamel, the background being keyed to take the enamel with a series of coarse scratches. One of these small roundels has an internal contour line. Traces of gilt remain in the engraved lines and it would appear that the whole of the bronze surface was gilt: traces of gilding remain on the border and on the back.

The brooch is an exceptionally fine and large specimen of a type well known on the Continent. The closest parallel is provided by a brooch in the museum at Klagenfurt² which has a similar enamelled central motif, although the enamels are different in colour. The famous Kettlach find³ has produced a series of such enamels, and other examples are known from Austria, Hungary, and the upper Rhine. The animals on the border of this brooch are not easily paralleled within

the series to which it belongs; they are best paralleled on the relief spiral bands of the candlesticks in the monastery of Kremsmünster.⁴ In the Kettlach find there is only one piece that has relief moulding,⁵ but its relief ornament is rather more reminiscent of the ornament on the brooches from Hythe Abbey⁶ and Bedlington⁷ in England, where the ornament is of a vegetable rather than a zoomorphic character. In England this type of enamelled brooch occurs only three times, at Hythe Abbey and Bedlington and at Cambridge,⁸ where the enamel is missing. These three brooches are easy to parallel on the Continent, and the two from Hythe Abbey and Bedlington seem to have been made from the same die. There does, however, exist in England a type of bronze disk-brooch which is of fairly common occurrence, typified by the brooch from Felixstowe, Suffolk,⁹ which is probably related to the enamelled type typified in the Kettlach find.

It has always proved difficult to date these objects; from 1854, when the larger portion of the Kettlach find came to light, to the time of the publication of Riegl's book¹⁰ in 1923 the find had been dated variously between the first and the eighth centuries A.D. The clearest indication of date would seem to be provided by the Bedlington brooch, which was found in a barrow in Cumberland with a comb of Scandinavian type, and by a Carolingian winged spearhead found in association with such a brooch in Germany, as well as by other less satisfactory associations cited by Riegl¹¹ and Dinklage.¹² The parallel of the Kettlach enamels with medallions in certain Carolingian manuscripts, particularly Paris lat 12048 and St. Gallen 731,¹³ also enables us to gain some idea of the date of the enamels. A date in the late eighth or ninth century would seem to be the most reasonable for the enamel, but in the face of the parallel with the relief animals on the Kremsmünster candlesticks, which are dated by von Falke to the eleventh century,¹⁴ it is perhaps more difficult to date this piece. The candlesticks cannot be dated later than 1040 as they appear in an inventory of Abbot Sigmar (1012-40) (*duo candelabra auro et argento parata*); a tenth-century date would therefore seem to be possible. It is difficult on stylistic grounds to give these candlesticks an earlier date: the panelling on the hips of the three-dimensional animals on the foot of the candlesticks is paralleled, for instance, on the series of tenth- and eleventh-century bronzes found in England.¹⁵ On the basis of this evidence it would seem possible to claim a tenth-century as easily as an eighth/ninth-century date for this brooch.

The Museum possesses, besides this brooch, three others of the same type: the Bedlington example mentioned above, and an unpublished brooch with a conventionalized acanthus ornament from Temesvar, Hungary,¹⁶ and a small example of unknown provenance decorated with a backward-looking animal.¹⁷

DAVID M. WILSON

¹ Lot 273, Christie, Manson & Woods Ltd., 7 May 1956. Probably from the Ball collection.

² A. Riegl, *Die Spätromische Kunst-industrie nach der Funden in Österreich-Ungarn*, ii (Vienna, 1923), pl. xxviii. 8.

³ Ibid., pl. xxviii. 1, 7, 9-12, and pl. xxx. 9 and 10.

⁴ Ibid., pl. xxvi.

⁵ Ibid., pl. xxx. 9.

⁶ Winchester City Museum.

⁷ B.M. Reg. No. 80, 8-2, 165; British Museum, *A Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities* (London, 1923), fig. 121 and p. 101.

⁸ *V.C.H. Cambs.*, vol. i, pl. xi d. Cf. the example in the Museum at Villache, Riegl, op. cit., pl. xxviii. 6.

⁹ J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament* (London/Copenhagen, 1924), fig. 122. On p. 146 Brøndsted lists these unenamelled brooches; but since this list was compiled more than thirty years

ago further specimens have come to light. Other specimens are mentioned *Proc. Soc. Ant. Lond.* xix. 210-12. The parallels Riegl mentions, op. cit., pp. 69 f., from London are not enamelled brooches of the Kettlach type but rather brooches related to the English series cf. *Catalogue of the Collection of London Antiquities in the Guildhall Museum* (London, 1903), p. 120.

¹⁰ Op. cit.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 77.

¹² 'Zur Deutschen Frühgeschichte Thüringens', *Mannus*, xxxiii (1941), pp. 480 f.

¹³ E. H. Zimmerman, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916), Pls. 152, 157, &c.

¹⁴ von Falke, O., and Meyer, E., *Romanische Leuchter und Gefäße; Gießgefäße der Gotik* (Berlin, 1935), p. 97.

¹⁵ T. D. Kendrick, 'An Anglo-Saxon Crucifix', *Antiquaries Journal*, xviii (1938), pp. 377 f.

¹⁶ Reg. no. 1930, 10-24, 23.

¹⁷ Reg. no. 80, 8-20, 28.

A MEDIEVAL POLYCHROME JUG FROM THE CITY OF LONDON

IN the *Catalogue of the Guildhall Museum* (1903), a medieval jug, described as 'unusual', was published (p. 174, no. 3; pl. lxvi, no. 11). It was found in Bishopsgate Street in the City. Later it was considered of sufficient merit to be picked out by Rackham and Read in their *English Pottery* (1924) for reproduction in an excellent colour-plate. The authors, dating it late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, describe it (p. 14) as showing 'a mastery of painted decoration equal to, and strangely, but quite accidentally, reminiscent of contemporary work in Italy'. Since Rackham's and Read's book appeared, these painted jugs, which by reason of their beautiful thin pottery and fine white fabrics, thin transparent glaze, and painted patterns in brown, yellow, and green, stand out sharply from the run of medieval earthenware north of the Alps, have been studied by Fox, Radford and Dunning in their paper in *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii (1933), in which they named them 'polychrome' pottery. They are not English at all, but South French, the centre of manufacture probably being Saintes near Bordeaux. Mr. Dunning relates their appearance in English, Irish, and Scottish ports and castle sites near the coast to the Bordeaux wine trade. The resemblance to contemporary Italian majolica, particularly Orvieto wares, is by no means accidental. South French polychrome pottery is to all appearances a transplantation of this Italian ware north-west of the Alps, where distinctive shapes and decorative themes were

to be developed. The most prolific sites in the British Isles for polychrome pottery are, as Dunning has shown,¹ the small medieval port of Stonar, on the Wantsum channel, which cut off the Isle of Thanet; and London, both of which have produced remains of over a dozen polychrome jugs. The Museum possesses two small sherds of polychrome ware and a portion of a unique, small aquamanile (*British Museum Quarterly*, xv. 80-81 (Pl. xxxiii b)), all from Stonar, and through the generosity of Mr. W. P. D. Stebbing, F.S.A. But we have no complete vessel, nor examples of the ware from any other site. The Guildhall Museum is fortunate in possessing four fine jugs in polychrome ware, all from the City of London, and the City Corporation has now, through the kindness of Mr. Norman Cook, F.S.A., the Keeper of the Guildhall Museum, generously placed one of them, the fine vessel illustrated on Pl. XVI, b and c, on indefinite loan at the British Museum. This jug, nearly 12 inches high, is a beautiful specimen and of particular interest. It has typical features—a fine narrow ‘parrot beak’ bridge-spout, which rises above the level of the rim and runs into it; a carination just below the rim, in line with the top of the handle—a typical feature of English baluster jugs of the period—and less typical features; a rather restrained body, with slight bulge and low centre of gravity, and a bung-like foot. These features are all more or less foreshadowed in contemporary Orvieto wares (e.g. *Catalogue of the William Ridout Collection*, privately printed, London, 1934, pls. viii, nos. 64 (spout) and 45 (carination); and v, no. 55 (shape of body)).² Whilst entirely agreeing with other French polychrome vessels in many details, including the three-lobed leaf painted at the base of the handle, the panelled geometric decoration of this jug from Bishopsgate and its slender shape set it apart, for the majority of jugs restored so far have globular bodies and a characteristic floral scroll design. The remarkable Exeter puzzle-jug in polychrome, built in the form of an inhabited tower (*Archaeologia*, lxxxiii, pl. xxix), and the British Museum aquamanile show us that the south French factory (or factories) were capable of producing pieces of virtuosity and originality, and the fact that the jug now lent to the British Museum should differ markedly from other examples of polychrome ware found in this country is more interesting than surprising. We may suggest that it is earlier than the rest, and closer to the Italian sources from which the Saintes production ultimately stems. If so, its date is probably nearer to A.D. 1270 than 1300.

R. L. S. BRUCE-MITFORD

¹ *Archaeological News Letter*, vol. ii, no. 4. August 1949, 55-56.

² Also see A. Imbert, *Ceramice Orvietane*, Rome, 1909; especially Tav. iv. 21 and 23, for a body-

shape with affinities with the Bishopsgate jug. No. 21 has a rather similar technique of painting and shows the trefoil-leaf motive.

JAPANESE LACQUERED CASKET OF THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

THE Museum has recently acquired, through the generosity of Mr. Denys F. Bower, a Japanese lacquered wooden casket of European form, made for the Portuguese market in the Momoyama period (1573-1615). This casket has a barrel-shaped lid on metal hinges, surmounted by a metal ring holder, with a metal boss on each side of it to prevent the handle from damaging the lacquer. The metal hasp which fastened the plate of the lock to the lid is missing. The top and length of the two sides of this casket are divided into three fields by two broad 'straps' of mother-of-pearl inlay, containing heads of chrysanthemums painted in gold lacquer between bars of mother-of-pearl. The three fields of the main body of the casket are decorated with an intricate pattern in closely crowded detail of flowering plants and branches in leaf, in gold and brown lacquer on a black lacquer ground studded with lumps of mother-of-pearl inserted at random. The edges of the casket are surrounded by a diaper border containing rows of diamond-shaped mother-of-pearl inlay. Its two ends are decorated in the same fashion as the sides, except that they are divided into two fields instead of three by a mother-of-pearl bar instead of straps (Pl. XVII).

This casket, although it is not decorated with Christian symbols, may have been made for ecclesiastical use, perhaps for holding a chalice; for its shape is derived from a European medieval form which appears both in wood and ivory. There is also in Mr. Bower's possession a small round lacquer box, decorated in the same fashion but carrying the insignia of the Jesuit order on the lid, which was probably used as a ciborium. A similar box and casket, together with two lacquer bible-rests (the last also decorated with the insignia of the Jesuit order), belong to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, and are reproduced by Mr. John Irwin in his article 'A Jacobean Vogue for Oriental Lacquer Ware.'¹ The casket he reproduces is probably the same casket displayed in that museum in an exhibition entitled 'Portugal in India, in China, and in Japan', September 1954,² where it is described as coming from the Convent of Our Lady of Grace of Abrantes in 1892. Another of these caskets, now in the Imperial Tokyo Museum, is illustrated in an article entitled 'Korean Influence on Mother-of-pearl Designs in Japanese Lacquer of the Early "Modern Period"' by Jō Okada.³ The decoration of this box (*hako*), according to Mr. Okada, is derived from the mother-of-pearl inlay designs on Korean lacquer of the Li Dynasty. The border to the edge of this piece consists of halves of, instead of the whole, mother-of-pearl lozenges displayed on our casket. This is described as a 'saw edge' design

which, according to the author, has been noticed 'on other pieces of lacquer said to have been made under the direction of Europeans such as the container in the Tōkeiji temple at Kamakura and the European *sugoroku* (dice) board belonging to the Ito family'. Neither of these pieces is illustrated. No suggestion is made in this article that the form of these caskets is European.

Boxer tells us, however, that Japanese lacquer was once such a popular medium for ecclesiastical furniture among the Portuguese Jesuits that the Jesuit General issued an order forbidding the padres to decorate their cells with lacquered screens.⁴ As all Jesuit activity in Japan came to an abrupt end in 1614, when the Shogun Iyeyasu promulgated his famous anti-Christian edict which resulted in the destruction of churches and convents and in the martyrdom of many missionaries and their converts, it is unlikely that any Japanese lacquer bearing Jesuit insignia, with any pretensions to age, was made after this date. There is every reason to believe that these lacquer caskets, although in my experience they do not ever carry the Jesuit insignia, are of the same age as the boxes for wafers and the missal-rests which do; all three forms being part of the Japanese ecclesiastical furniture made in lacquer for Europe in the late sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth century.

SOAME JENYNS

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, June 1953.

² Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 15a, Exposição Temporária, *Portugal na Índia, na China, e no Japão*.

³ *Museum*, August 1955, pl. 5, published by Mayuyama & Co.

⁴ C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 1952, p. 201.

A MALAY 'UMBRELLA'

THE specimen illustrated in Pl. xviii *a* and *b* was collected in 1901 in the area of Grik, Upper Perak, Malaya, by the late W. W. Skeat, and was presented by him, with other material including another similar umbrella, to the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge. It was transferred to the Department of Ethnography of the British Museum, in accordance with the donor's wishes, in 1952, and has been numbered 1952. As. 3. 1. According to Mr. Skeat's correspondence and diary (copies of relevant extracts from which were supplied by the Curator of the University Museum) these 'umbrellas', which seem to have been more typical of the east coast, were already nearly obsolete at the beginning of this century.¹

The length of the umbrella is 54 inches, and its greatest width expanded is 44½ inches. It consists of two parts. The handle is made from a piece of bamboo 54 inches long, of which 11½ inches form the handle proper; for the remainder of its length it is partly cut away, leaving a rib to the full length to act as a

support for the fan-shaped leaf shield, and a shorter rib $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long opposite to the longer one. Where the ribs join the handle (at a node) the stump of a side-shoot has been left to form a hook.

The shield is inserted into the hollow interior of the bamboo between the bases of the two ribs. It is made from strips of palm leaf, pointed at the ends, joined together by rods (probably leaf mid-ribs) each of which pierces the edges of two adjacent strips; the more important function of these rods, however, is to act as stiffeners. The ends of the leaf-strips only are inserted into the hollow of the handle; the stiffeners terminate about an inch from this point and are linked about $\frac{1}{2}$ —1 inch from their ends by a length of rattan which is looped round both the rods and the leaf strips. Some 7—12 inches above this (describing a rough semicircle) a piece of coarse two-ply vegetable-fibre string is knotted round each of the stiffeners. This string is continued at each end about 2 inches beyond the edge of the shield. At one side of the shield it is tied to the end of a 17-inch stick, the ends of which are carved to form knobs; at the other it forms a loop. When the stick is caught under the hook-shaped projection on the handle of the umbrella and the loop is passed over its free end the shield is braced and held in the expanded position. A length of rattan is tied to one of the outer stiffeners and is coiled spirally round the umbrella when it is collapsed.

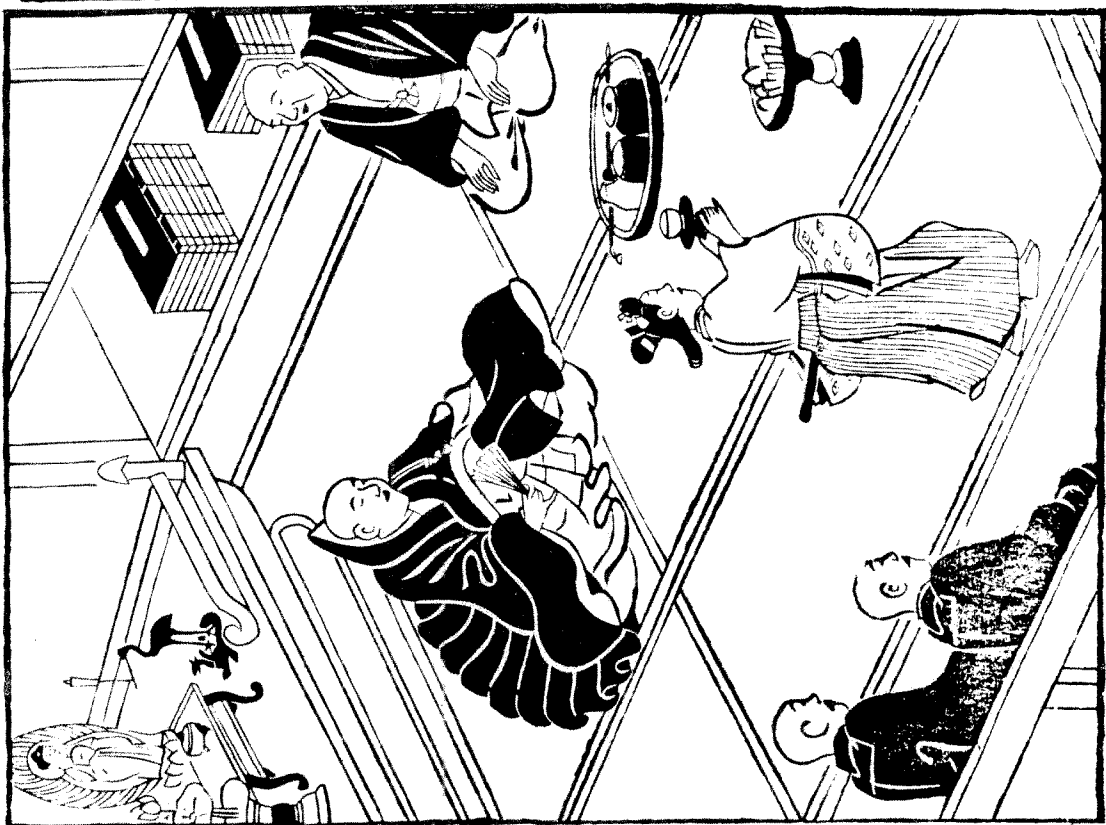
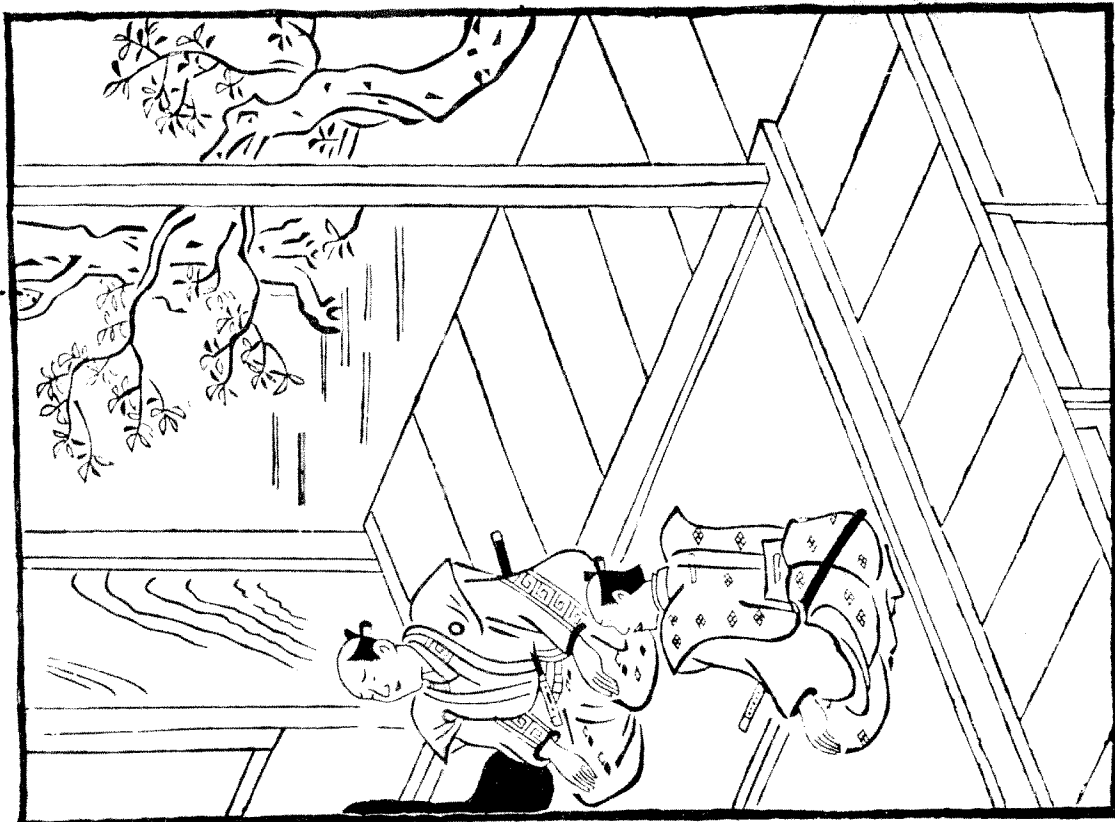
The purpose of this umbrella seems to have been to provide shade from the sun, not protection from rain. This is implied, though not specifically stated, in the extracts from Mr. Skeat's letter and diary referred to above. An umbrella of this type would not long withstand the force of heavy tropical rain, particularly if it were accompanied by wind. Its use was probably ceremonial, which would accord with the cultural pattern of the Malay area, where circular umbrellas with central pole, to give shade, are a prerogative of royalty. Although in function it has parallels elsewhere (for example the Egyptian *flabellum*), in structure it seems to be unique. It probably represents a local development from a simple palm leaf used for the same purpose.

B. A. L. CRANSTONE

¹ Another specimen, generally similar but smaller, was presented by C. J. Wray, Esq., and was numbered 1935. 5-6. 37. This, too, comes from Perak, but the district is not stated.



IX. A TIBETAN BUDDHIST RITUAL





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10

XI. GREEK COINS





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2



3



4



5



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8



7



10



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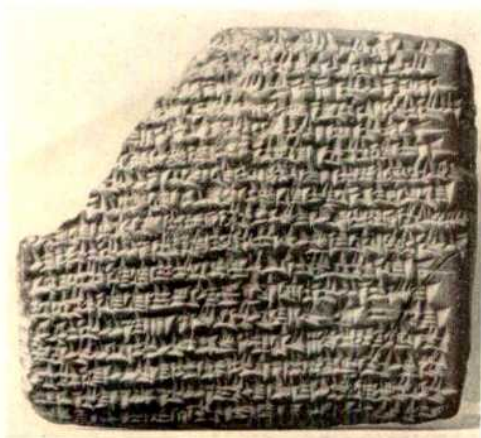


11



12





a



b



c



d

XIV. NEO-BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES

- | | |
|--|------------|
| <i>a.</i> The early reign of Nabopolassar (626–622 B.C.) | B.M. 25127 |
| <i>b.</i> War with the Egyptians (608–605 B.C.) | B.M. 22047 |
| <i>c.</i> The years 605–594 B.C. including the Battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.) and the capture of Jerusalem (597 B.C.) | B.M. 21946 |
| <i>d.</i> Neriglissar's campaign in Cilicia (557/6 B.C.) | B.M. 25124 |



XV. GOLD ACORN CUP. English, c. 1610.



a

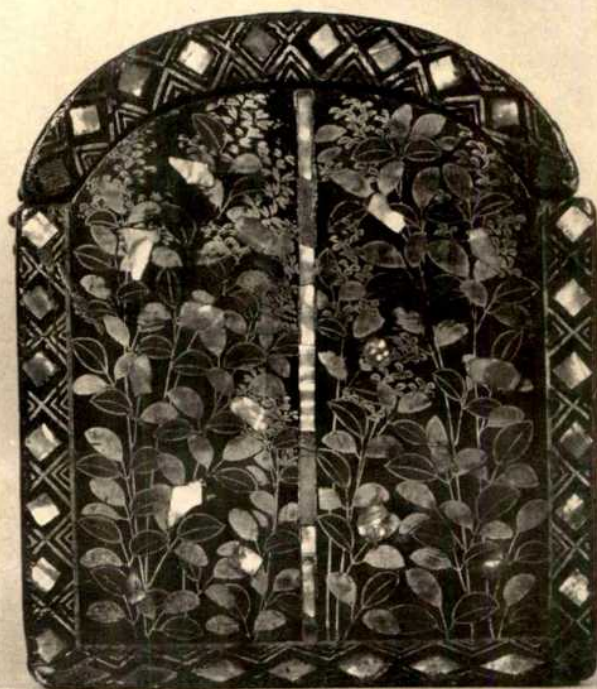
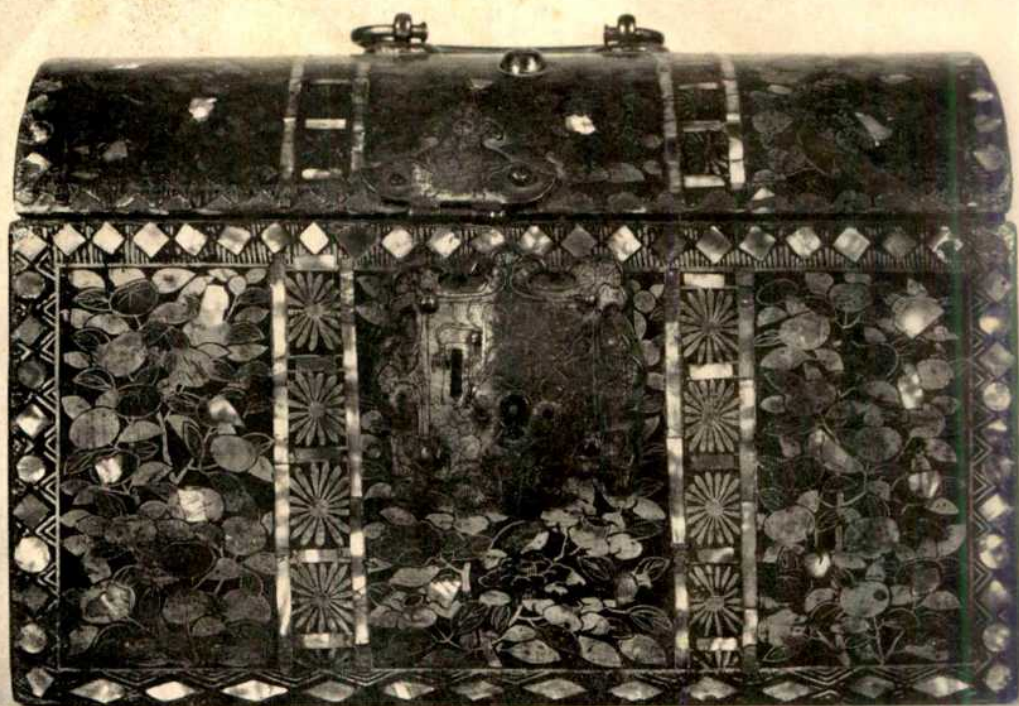


b

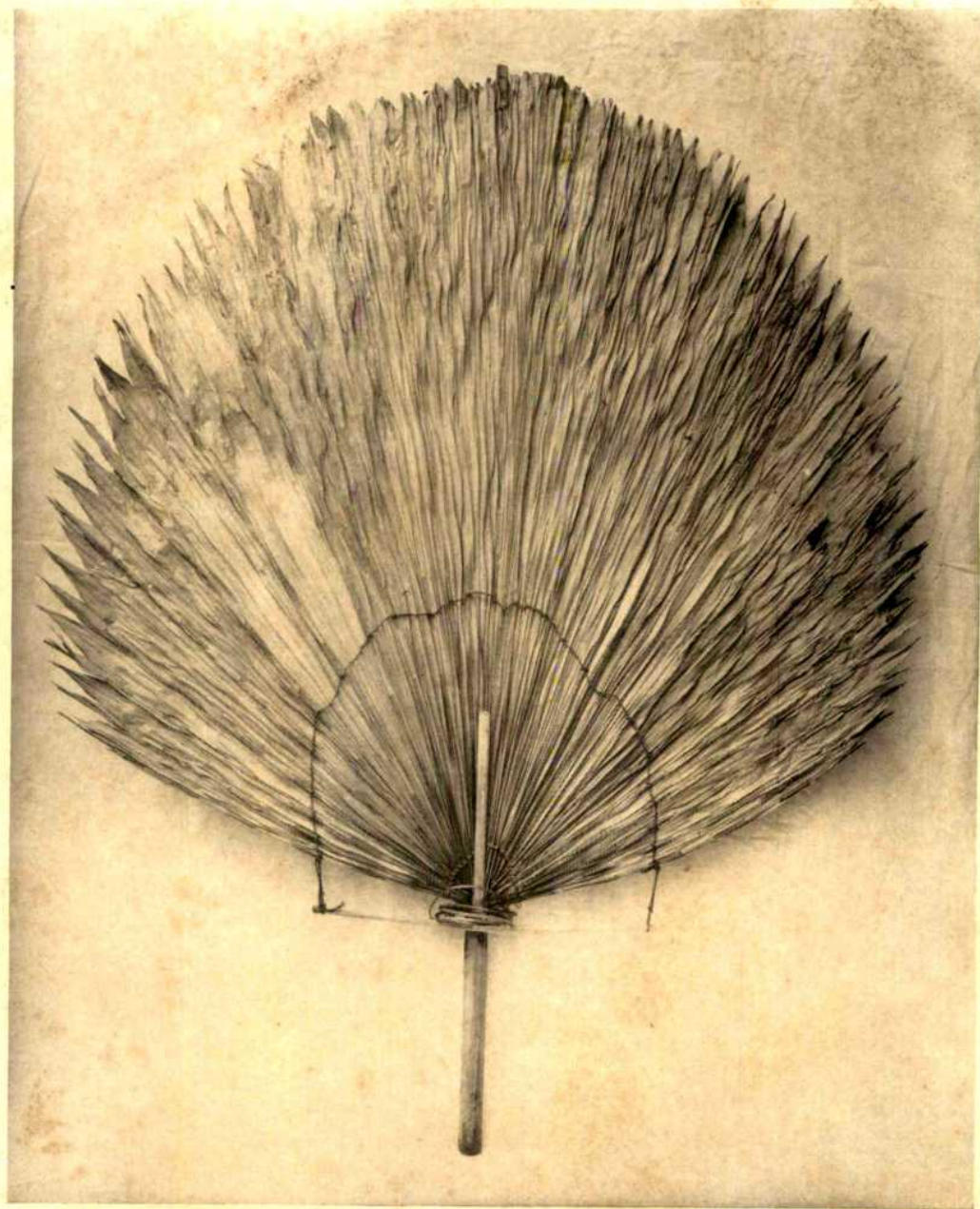


c

• XVI. *a*. AN ENAMELLED DISK-BROOCH
b and *c*. A MEDIEVAL POLYCHROME JUG from the City of London



XVII. JAPANESE LACQUERED CASKET of the late 16th century



a



b

XVIII. A MALAY UMBRELLA

BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY
VOLUME XXI. NUMBER 3. JUNE 1958

THE BRITISH MUSEUM
QUARTERLY VOL. XXI. NO. 3



PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON

1958

The cover illustration is a woodcut of an angler taken from the *Book of St. Albans*, Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster, 1496.

Binding cases designed to hold one volume of the Quarterly (4 parts) are now available from the British Museum, price 2s. 3d. each (post free). It is regretted that the Museum cannot undertake the work of binding the parts into these cases.

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THE ORDNANCE SURVEY 1791-1825

THE Director-General of the Ordnance Survey has presented to the Trustees the manuscript maps drawn from the survey for the first edition of the one-inch-to-one-mile map of England. These maps are deposited in the Map Room.

The trigonometrical survey of this country was initiated by Major-General William Roy, who in 1784 measured a base-line on Hounslow Heath and in 1787 observed triangles to Dover and across the Straits to the French coast. These operations were designed to determine 'the relative situations of the two most famous observatories in Europe, Greenwich and Paris'. They were directed by the Royal Society, with support from King George III and the Board of Ordnance. As Surveyor-General of the Coasts, under the Board of Ordnance, from 1765 until his death in 1790, Roy was concerned with preparations against invasion; but it is evident that he envisaged both his surveys of the invasion coasts and his triangulation of south-east England as 'the foundation of a general survey of the British Islands'. In an undated memorandum submitted to the Duke of Richmond, who became Master-General of the Ordnance in 1782, Roy laid down 'general Instructions for the Engineers to be employed in surveying the Coast and Districts of the Country near it'. This memorandum was later (presumably between 1787 and 1790) revised by Roy as a directive for a map of 'the Island in general' on a scale of one inch to a mile.¹ When Roy died in July 1790, however, no regular establishment existed for the continuation of the trigonometrical survey which he had begun.

The 3rd Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance from 1782 to 1795, shared Roy's enthusiasm for accurate survey. He maintained land-surveyors in his household at Goodwood and carried two of them into the Ordnance service in 1782—Thomas Yeakell, chief draughtsman until his death in 1787, and William Gardner, who was in 1787 appointed to the newly created post of chief surveying draughtsman. The duke lost little time in providing for the prosecution of Roy's work. In June 1791 he took 'His Majesty's Pleasure for Proceeding with the Trigonometrical Operation begun by the late Major General Roy', and he 'procured from Mr. Ramsden a proper Instrument for this Purpose'.² On 10 July the Master-General informed the Board that he had 'appointed Major Williams and Lieutenant Mudge of the Royal Regiment of Artillery to carry on the Trigonometrical Survey with the Assistance of Mr. Dalby'.³ These officers had the assistance of civilian surveyors and draughtsmen employed under the Board.

By 1825, when the principal resources of the Ordnance Survey were diverted to the cadastral survey of Ireland, this modest establishment had grown to twenty-eight engineer officers; triangulation covered the whole of England and

Wales, and the topographical survey, at a standard scale of two inches to a mile, had been completed for all but the six northern counties.⁴ The manuscript drawings now presented to the Museum are the principal surviving record of this survey, the field-books and other documentary materials having been destroyed by enemy action in 1941.

Roy's revised memorandum to the Duke of Richmond had laid down the principles on which the survey was conducted. The primary tasks of base measurement and 'determination of the great triangles' were assigned to the senior engineer on the spot; 'the filling in or surveying of the interior part of the great triangles' to subordinate surveyors using 'the small Theodelets and chains provided'. They were to make measured traverses of the coast, of river-courses, and of roads and lanes. Not only were boundaries of 'Forests, Woods, Heaths, Commons or Marshes' to be surveyed; but also 'in the enclosed parts of the Country all the Hedges, and other Boundaries of Fields are to be carefully laid down'. Such detail could not be represented 'on a less scale than two Inches to a mile'; this was in fact the standard scale adopted for the survey and manuscript maps, although areas of military significance on the south and south-east coasts were surveyed and drawn at three or six inches to a mile. All these, wrote Roy, 'may afterwards be reduced to a scale of one Inch to a mile for the Island in general'; and this scale, familiar to military engineers, was to be that of the map engraved from the surveyors' drawings.

The collection received by the Museum contains 320 two-inch sheets, 75 three-inch sheets, and 31 six-inch sheets. These appear to be the fair copies made by the surveying parties from their field-books and rough drawings, and delivered to the senior engineer officer in the district as authority for payment of their fees (2*d.* an acre above their established pay). From these copies the Ordnance draughtsmen in the Drawing Room at the Tower of London compiled the final drafts for the engraver, which have not survived. Most of the surveyors' drawings bear the date of survey or that of the bill by which the fees for the survey were claimed. The drawings thus provide a key to the dating of the topography shown in the survey, which might precede the engraving by as much as ten or fifteen years. The majority of the drawings fall within the period 1796-1824; some six-inch sheets in Kent and the Isle of Wight are from surveys of 1789-94, and a number of two-inch drawings, chiefly of North Wales, represent surveys from 1824 to 1842. There are also 59 packets of hill sketches and revision sheets made between 1819 and 1842.

This series of manuscript maps on medium scales provides a detailed representation of the English landscape some half a century before the earliest large-scale plans of the Ordnance Survey. The indication of enclosures (omitted from the engraved one-inch map) and of the state of cultivation is of particular interest to the economic historian and the historical geographer. Apart from the

tithe award maps under the Tithe Act 1836 (which are uneven in quality and inconvenient for comparative study), the surveyors' drawings are the only accurate and comprehensive cartographic record of the countryside before the changes in land use and land tenure which followed the General Inclosure Acts. It may be added that, in Roy's tradition, archaeological fieldworks were carefully surveyed and planned, and that many of the drawings are fine examples of cartographic draftsmanship at the period of its highest development in this country. (Pl. xix.)

R. A. SKELTON

¹ Public Record Office, W.O. 30/54, 'General Roy's Papers', No. 22.

² P.R.O., W.O. 46/22, p. 117: Master-General to Board, 22 June 1791.

³ Ibid., pp. 270-1: Master-General to Board, 10 July 1791.

⁴ The progress of the survey to 1809 is described in *An Account of the Operations carried on for accomplishing a Trigonometrical Survey of England and Wales*, 3 vols. (1799-1811). See also Close, Sir Charles F., *The Early Years of the Ordnance Survey* (1926), chaps. iii-vi.

SIR KENELM DIGBY AND SIENA

SIR KENELM DIGBY, born in 1603, set out on his first 'grand tour' of France and Italy in 1620. After Paris he went on to Florence, and as Professor R. T. Petersson writes in his recent biography: 'In Florence and other cities, he spent much of his time enlarging his collections of books and cooking recipes, and his knowledge of art and sciences as well. In Siena he was made a member of a learned society, the Accademia dei Filomati, before which he delivered two very ornate, very learned, very obscure orations on secret modes of writing among the ancients.'¹ Petersson notes that although these orations are undated, their style points to the early 1620's rather than to the 1640's, when he was in Italy again.² In 1621 there was published in Siena an oblong quarto book entitled *Oplomachia* by Bonaventura Pistofilo, a nobleman from Ferrara resident in Siena.³ Dealing with the subject of arms, and divided respectively into three sections on the pike, halberd, and musket, this book is filled with engraved plates showing men at arms in every possible posture. The interest of the volume to us is that the author dedicated it to Sir Kenelm Digby, with an address 'All' illustrissimo sig.^{ro} e Padrone mio Colendissimo Don Kenelmo Giorgio Digbi Caualiere Inglese', dated 15 November 1621. In this Digby is eulogized as no less valiant at arms than as a man of letters: high praise for a boy of eighteen! There is an engraved portrait of Digby himself, inscribed 'Don Kenelmo Giorgio Digbi Caval. Inglese d'anni LXIX 1621'. This was accordingly engraved after his eighteenth birthday on 11 July.

After his death on 11 June 1665, most of his books were owned by his cousin George Digby, 2nd Earl of Bristol, who died in 1676. An auction sale was

arranged for 19 April 1680, and in the catalogue, *Bibliotheca Digbeiana*, I have found the following six Siena-printed books:

1. H. Pinnelli Aphoris. Theoricae, ac Practicae Med. Libri viii. Senis, 1617.
2. Iconologia del Signor Cauallier Cesare Ripa. Siena, 1613.
3. Alcune Considerazioni di Bellisario Bulgarini. Siena, 1583.
4. Bandi, Ordini, &c. della Città, e Stato di Siena. Siena, 1584.
5. Istoria del M.R.P. Fr. Alfonso Giaccone. Siena, 1595.
6. I Diseguali Amori. Comedia pastorale. Siena, 1614.

None of the Digby copies of these six books is now in the Museum, but the Bulgarini (no. 3) is in the Bodleian.⁴ Only two of the six editions are represented in the Museum by other copies.

There is, of course, no proof that a book printed in a certain town was acquired there, but it seems more than likely that Sir Kenelm added to his library at least some of these Sienese volumes during his stay in that town. Another book of his, which does not feature in the *Bibliotheca Digbeiana*, has recently come to my notice, and this, added to the evidence provided by the Bodleian Library, seems to prove that Digby had a particular interest in one Sienese author, who had not long been dead when Digby first reached Siena. It is part of a tract volume (press-mark 638. h. 19) which contains three works by the Sienese philologist and literary critic Belisario Bulgarini (1539–1620).⁵ The first of these, *Riprove delle particelle poetiche sopra Dante disputate dal sig. Ieronimo Zoppio Bolognese*, was printed in Siena by Luca Bonetti in 1602. On the title-page is written at the top 'Nudo si ma contento', the significance of which is not clear; below the title is written 'Ken Digby' and a partially illegible motto which read 'Deo duce ferro comite'. At the foot of the page is written a price: 6 reals, pret. 4 crowns. The second and third tracts in the volume bear no manuscript notes, and it is impossible to say whether they were all bound together when Digby acquired the first. He did not inscribe in this volume his familiar monogram *BD*, such as we find in the Museum's copy of *L'Amorosa Fiammetta* and *Laberinto d'Amore* of Boccaccio (press-mark 1473. b. 17), printed at Venice in 1562 and 1564.

It may not be found uninteresting to add here a note of Bulgarini's own handwriting which appears in another book in the Museum, Luigi Tansillo, *Le Lagrime di San Pietro*, printed by Giuseppe Cacchi and Giovanni Battista Cappello at Vico Equense in 1585. At the end of the text in the Museum's copy (press-mark 11422. d. 30) is written: 'Di Bellisario Bulgarini, etc. Il presente libro si comprò p me Bellisario Bulgarini da m° Antonmaria Camozzi Libraro in Siena lire due e soldi dieci l'anno 1587 alli 15 di Settembre. Lode à Dio.' This note, written when the book was two years old and its purchaser forty-eight, gives us the name of a Sienese bookseller whom I have not previously come across in my researches in Sienese bibliography.⁶ Bulgarini was only one of a group of

half a dozen distinguished literary men of Siena who between about 1580 and 1610 formed the academy to which Digby was to be admitted in 1621.

DENNIS E. RHODES

¹ R. T. Petersson, *Sir Kenelm Digby, The Ornament of England, 1603-1665*, Jonathan Cape, 1956, p. 54. Petersson's references to B.M. Add. MS. 41,846 are incomplete: there are in all four orations delivered by Digby before the Accademia dei Filomati (ff. 118-42). The first three contain copious quotations in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and deal with such subjects as alchemy and cabalism. The fourth, which is not in Digby's own handwriting, begins 'Ultima oratione da me detta nell'academia de Filomati di Siena quando mi haueano dato per nome il fiorito, e ch'io ne parti di la.' On the outside (f. 142^v) Digby has written: 'Sr. K. D. My last oration att my departure att Siena.' Would that he had added the date! It is pleasant to learn at least that his academic name

was Il Fiorito.

² Petersson, op. cit., p. 331, n. 45.

³ B.M. press-mark 785. a. 16 (imperfect copy).

⁴ I am informed by Mr. L. W. Hanson that the Bodleian has also a copy of the 'Bandi' (no. 4) but this belonged to John Selden.

⁵ On Bulgarini and his books see R. Weiss, 'The Sienese Philologists of the Cinquecento', *Italian Studies*, iii, nos. 1 and 2 (1946), p. 43.

⁶ In the Bodleian is a volume (Douce E. 26) containing 20 eclogues printed at Siena between 1516 and 1523. At the end is written: 'Il presente libro di comedie Rusticali lo vende M^{re} Bastiano Arditi libraio a me Bell^o Bulgarini il .19. novembre. 1619. p prezzo di Testoni due laus Deo Semper.'

MORE MANUSCRIPTS FROM HOLKHAM

IT will be recalled that in 1952 Parliament approved a special grant to assist the Museum in acquiring a number of manuscripts and printed books from the library of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall (see *B.M. Quarterly*, xvii, no. 2). Since that date, other sales have taken place, notably that of virtually the entire collection of Greek manuscripts at Holkham, acquired by the Bodleian Library in 1954; and last year an opportunity arose for a joint purchase, by the Museum and the Bodleian, of a further number of outstanding medieval manuscripts. The field was somewhat limited by Lord Leicester's decision to retain the finest of the illuminated manuscripts, but it proved possible to make a selection of volumes of varied interest which either filled deficiencies or usefully supplemented existing holdings in the Department's collections.

Two valuable and interesting manuscripts of Ovid provide a welcome addition to the Museum's collection of classical manuscripts. Both are of the thirteenth century, and the former, Holkham MS. 320 (now Add. MS. 49367) is of especial interest since it belonged to the collector Paul Petau (Petavius) of Orleans (1568-1614), whose autograph appears on the first page. Petau's name is inseparably linked with Ovidian studies through his ownership of the earliest and best extant manuscript of the *Fasti*, the tenth-century 'Petavianus primus' bought after his death by Queen Christina of Sweden and now Reginensis lat. 1709 in the Vatican Library. Apparently it was not until 1931 that the late Professor E. H. Alton, of Trinity College, Dublin, an eminent authority on Ovid, identified the Holkham MS. as the other manuscript of the *Fasti* owned by Petau,

and denominated 'Petavianus secundus' by Nicholas Heinsius, the seventeenth-century father of Ovidian scholarship. Its authority is quoted by Merkel in his edition of 1841, where it is assigned the *siglum* ψ , but he knew its readings only through collations by Gronovius and Heinsius. Its whereabouts still remained unknown both to F. Peeters, whose book, *Les Fastes d' Ovide*, appeared in 1939, and to Professor F. W. Lenz, who recently published a census of the manuscripts known to Heinsius (*Eranos*, li, 1953, pp. 66-88). Now, after a lapse of three centuries, it is once again available to the scholars of the world.

Another and better known manuscript of the *Fasti* at Holkham, MS. 322, has likewise passed into the possession of the British Museum and acquired the number Add. MS. 49368. This 'Codex Holkhamicus', duly noted by Peeters in his above-named book, contains, in addition to the *Fasti*, the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, the *Ars Amatoria*, *Remedium Amoris*, *Tristia*, *Amores*, and *Ibis*, together with some minor pieces. It was used by Robinson Ellis for his edition of the *Ibis* in 1881, and by S. G. Owen, who described it as 'codex pretiosissimus', for his edition of the *Tristia* in 1888. As might have been expected, this manuscript likewise came under the notice of Professor Alton, who made a complete collation of the *Fasti*; but this collation, like the great critical edition to which he devoted so many years, remained unpublished at his death, and its critical value thus remains undetermined; in the *Amores* Robinson Ellis pointed out that along with numerous corrupt or erroneous readings there is a considerable number of agreements with the oldest manuscripts.

The first stirrings of classical archaeology are illustrated by two sixteenth-century collections of Roman inscriptions. The first, formerly Holkham MS. 414 and now Add. MS. 49369, was compiled by Giacomo Valvasoni of Maniago (between Belluno and Udine), apparently in the latter half of the century (the latest date mentioned, in an addition, is 1565), and draws upon material mainly from the district on either side of the present Italo-Yugoslav frontier, though it also includes some inscriptions from Buda, Belgrade, &c. Theodor Mommsen, in a letter of 1876 (inserted in the manuscript), in which he thanks Lord Leicester for the loan of Holkham MSS. 414-16, states that it is 'by far the most important' of the three, and that its contents had previously been known only through extracts (cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, iii, 273, 399, 478, 596; v, 172). It was certainly written under Valvasoni's supervision, and contains autograph corrections by him. The second volume (Holkham MS. 416, now Add. MS. 49370) is of a very different character, being calligraphically written in a good humanistic hand of the early part of the century, with drawings of monuments and an illuminated frontispiece: this is a collection of inscriptions from Brescia and its neighbourhood, made by Thadeus Solatius of Brescia. It is probably identical with a manuscript owned by Bernardo Trevisani and copied by Montfaucon. Mommsen, in the letter quoted above, spoke of it as 'though not

the autograph, certainly one of the best copies known to me'. Elsewhere (*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, v. 431) Mommsen reported that Trevisano's original autograph manuscript (or what he took to be such) was still extant in Italy in 1872, but as he was unable to inspect it both its status as the original and its relationship to the Holkham MS. must remain in some doubt.

Patristic studies are represented by a fine eleventh-century manuscript of works of St. Ambrose (Holkham MS. 122; Add. MS. 49364). Its contents include the *Hexaemeron*, of which the earliest manuscripts already in the Museum are Royal 6 A. i and 6 A. xiv, both of the twelfth century, and the *De Paradiso*, hitherto represented here by a single text of the thirteenth (Harley 3042). It also includes the *De Mysteriis*, the *De Sacramentis* (of doubtful authenticity), and an anonymous Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, of which other manuscripts appear to be known only in certain German libraries (viz. Cologne MS. xlv [Darmstadt 2040], Munich MSS. 17181, 14617; cf. A. E. Burn, *The Athanasian Creed and its early commentaries*, 1896, p. 43). The manuscript came from the library of the Canons Regular of San Giovanni in Verdara near Padua, the greatest part of which was bought *en bloc* by the 1st Earl of Leicester in 1717.

Of two manuscripts of legal interest, mention should perhaps first be made of a fine copy (Holkham MS. 212; Add. MS. 49365) of the *Leges Visigothorum* or *Liber Judiciorum* compiled about A.D. 654 by Reccesswinth, which definitely repealed the use of Roman Law in Spain and substituted a single code for all the subjects of the Visigothic king.¹ As such, the Code, with additions, remained in force in Spain for centuries, and indeed the Holkham MS. is a comparatively late copy of the early thirteenth century. Its value, however, is enhanced by marginal notes in a variety of hands which show the book to have been used in the following centuries. It is, moreover, written in an attractive script, with red and blue flourished capitals of most delicate execution, and a number of historiated initials (Pl. xx*a*). Its purchase fills a serious gap in the Departmental collections since hitherto no copy of the Laws has been included in them.

English law is represented by an unusually interesting volume of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, the main item of which is a copy of the legal compilation known as the 'Quadrupartitus' made about 1114 by a cleric of French birth who wished to make known the 'Iaga Edwardi' as amended by William I and Henry I (Holkham MS. 228; Add. MS. 49366). The text belongs to the third and final recension as classified by its editor F. Liebermann,² of which he records three other manuscripts. To many, however, the volume derives a greater interest from its association not only with Sir Edward Coke, but also with Matthew Parker. The arms of that distinguished archbishop as owner occur on f. 1, and the many legal and historical additions (including extracts from a number of Worcester MSS.) made by him and John Parker, his son, make the volume a monument of Elizabethan scholarship.

Opportunities of adding medieval chronicles to the very rich collection already in the Department occur but rarely and for this reason it is all the more welcome to report the acquisition of a copy of the Chronicle and Genealogy of the Westphalian Counts of The March, a county which covered an area around Altena, north-east of Cologne (Holkham MS. 476; Add. MS. 49371). The chronicle was written by Levold von Northof (b. 1279) about 1358 for the instruction of the young Graf Englebert III (1333-91) and his younger brother Adolf, later Bishop of Münster. In addition to the history of the counts, which contains digressions on their neighbours, the Bishops of Liège, the manuscript includes also a short history of the Archbishops of Cologne, doubtless based on first-hand information during the author's successive appointments to canonries in these dioceses. Of the nine manuscripts used by the latest editor³ the Holkham MS. is not only the oldest but also the most authoritative, containing more autobiographical notes than any of the others. Though probably not the autograph of Levoldus, as Levison thought,⁴ it was doubtless the count's own copy which was deposited at Altena, for an erased inscription at the end of the work can be read as an injunction that the manuscript should not be removed from that castle.

Finally another gap in the Department's collections, this time in the liturgical field, has been filled by the acquisition of Holkham 39 (Add. MS. 49363). This is a Breviary-Missal executed for a Cluniac house in England, which can in all probability be identified as Wenlock Abbey from the prominence given to Mildburga, Abbess of that house. Though the volume is imperfect, wanting the beginning of the Psalter and part of the Sanctorale, it is finely written, with historiated initials of good quality, and becomes the first English Cluniac service-book to be acquired by the Department (Pl. xx b).

B. SCHOFIELD

¹ Ed. K. Zeumer, *Leges Visigothorum Antiquiores* (Fontes Iuris Germanici Antiqui), Hanover and Leipzig, 1894; cf. E. Wohlhaupter, *Gesetze der Westgoten* (Germanenrechte, Bd. ii), Weimar, 1936).

² F. Liebermann, *Quadripartitus*, 1892, pp. 65 sqq.; cf. *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Report, pp. 1-11,

App. 358-9.

³ Zschaeck, *Die Chronik der Grafen von der Mark von Levold von Northof* (Mon. Germ. Hist., Script. Rerum Germ. Nova Series, t. vi), 1929.

⁴ W. Levison, *Aus Englischen Bibliotheken*, 1907.

PAPERS OF W. S. GILBERT

THE Museum has recently purchased, from the executors of his adopted daughter, the singer Nancy McIntosh, a large collection of manuscripts—letters, diaries, plays, libretti, &c.—of Sir William Schwenk Gilbert (1836–1911). The collection (now Add. MSS. 48289–353), while very large, is in no sense a complete archive (another considerable Gilbert collection is in the Pierpont Morgan Library) but it includes much of his personal and professional correspondence with actors, producers, &c., from the 1860's to the Edwardian decade and throws light on most aspects of his career as one of the most successful and (in every sense of the word) dominating theatrical figures of his age. Gilbert was a prolific correspondent who made a habit of keeping drafts of his replies, particularly when, as frequently happened, he believed himself to be in the right and his correspondent in the wrong. Here, for example, is Gilbert's draft dated 22 April 1890 of the famous letter to Sullivan stating that he was appalled to learn that the preliminary expenses of *The Gondoliers* (first produced 7 December 1889) 'amounted to the stupendous sum of £4,500'—the beginning of the quarrel between Gilbert and Sullivan which lasted on and off until they finally parted after *The Grand Duke* in 1895. Although Gilbert triumphed in his financial dispute with Carte and Sullivan, the memory of the lengths Gilbert had been willing to go to in order to obtain what he thought due to him still rankled sufficiently with Sullivan to hamper their collaboration over *Utopia Ltd.* (which was finally produced on 7 October 1893, nearly four years after *The Gondoliers*). In November 1892 Sullivan wrote several letters to Gilbert demanding that in any future production he, Sullivan, must share the entire control with Carte, as he 'would rather give up writing for the stage altogether' than submit to a repetition of the state of affairs existing in the year following the production of *The Gondoliers* when Gilbert had the right to examine the accounts of the Savoy Theatre, 'a right which when you possessed it led to disputes and litigation and might do so again'. In the end, a financial compromise was reached as regards future profits but in terms of the personal relationship between Gilbert and Sullivan the damage of the three years 1890–2—for which period most of the correspondence is preserved in the present collection—was irretrievable.

There is no space here to give details of the remaining correspondence: the business accounts, the letters relating to copyright in theatrical works performed in America and the colonies (a matter in which Gilbert exhibited a characteristic zeal for justice to the then unprotected author), the letters relating to the Savoy revivals of the mid-Edwardian years when Gilbert, sole survivor of the original trio, tried to exercise the same meticulous control over casting and rehearsals for which he had been famous in Victorian days. On the lighter side, as evidence of the unique regard in which Gilbert was held by those who worked for him,

may be instanced a letter from the gentlemen of the chorus of the Savoy, in 1882, stating that a new year's gift to them from the management 'comes as a pleasant surprise because nothing like it has been experienced in any theatre before; in fact, it is an even greater novelty than the electric light'.

In addition to the correspondence, the collection includes manuscript synopses and drafts, chiefly *autograph*, of a number of plays, including *Fallen Fairies*, *The Hooligan*, &c., and libretti, including *The Grand Duke*, *The Yeomen of the Guard*, *The Gondoliers*, and *Utopia Ltd.*, of those written for Sullivan, and *His Excellency* and *Princess Toto*, which were set by Dr. Osmond Carr and Frederick Clay (Add. MSS. 49289-306). These drafts, together with the printed proofstates and prompt copies mentioned below, give a complete picture, in some cases, of how the final work emerged from the original idea and sketch of the plot and frequently include material later discarded or amended. The draft of *The Gondoliers* (in Add. MS. 49298), for instance, shows many second thoughts, passages marked for cutting, abandoned ideas, and so on. The Duke and Duchess are 'of Valladolid', not of 'Plaza-Toro', and their daughter is called 'Carlotta' not 'Casilda'. Their entry is announced by

'From the country of the Cid
The Duke of Valladolid'

not, as in the published version, by

'From the sunny, Spanish shore
His Grace of Plaza-Tor'

and the Duke's song in the manuscript beginning 'When fled our gallant clan' is replaced in the final libretto by 'In enterprise of martial kind'. In the manuscript it is the Grand Inquisitor, not the Duke, who gives the gondoliers a lesson in deportment (considerably longer than in the printed version), instructing them to 'Look haughty proud and rather freezy. . . . It's not particularly easy', whilst Marco's and Giuseppe's mathematical analysis of their claims to the Crown and one of three available wives, which results in the statement 'I am a Vulgar Fraction And you're a Rule of Three' is cut in the published version to a few lines 'Oh, moralists all, How can you call Marriage a state of unitee, When excellent husbands are bisected, And wives divisible into three?' The drafts of *The Yeoman of the Guard* (also in Add. MS. 49298), although lacking some of the dialogue and songs, include others not subsequently published, for instance Wilfred's 'When Jealous torments', Meryll's 'A laughing boy', the duet between Elsie and Point 'Pray don't you think' and variant verses to 'How say you, maiden'. The manuscript of *Utopia Ltd.* (in Add. MS. 49300) contains a demonstration of high spirits on the part of Princess Zara which effectively persuades Scaphio and Phantis that she is not the bride for either of them. Their abandon-

ment of their rival claims remains unexplained in the final version. *The Mikado* and *H.M.S. Pinafore* are, unfortunately, represented in manuscript only by the autographs of 'The Story of the Micado' and 'The Story of Pinafore' (Add. MS. 49299) and not by the libretti. Printed proofstates of a number of the stories of the Savoy operas are in Add. MS. 49309, and of the plays and libretti in Add. MS. 49308. Proofs and manuscript sketches (in Add. MS. 49303) of *Ruy Blas* or *Gonzago*, Gilbert's first published play, show how drastic was the revision for the much shorter version published in *Warne's Christmas Annual* of 1866. Typescripts of *Selene* (alias *The Fallen Fairies* alias *The Wicked World*), *The Hooligan*, and *Trying a Dramatist* are in Add. MS. 49308. A nearly complete set of printed prompt copies with manuscript notes (Add. MSS. 49310-17) give additional stage directions, plans of the sets, lists of properties, &c. That for *The Mikado* (in Add. MS. 49312) includes instructions for Japanese dances and that for *Ruddigore* (also in Add. MS. 49312) directions for lighting the ghost scene.

Besides the letters, plays, and libretti, a few miscellaneous items should be mentioned, particularly the sketch-book for the *Bab Ballads* (Add. MS. 49319) (Pl. xxi), and a series of diaries, mostly in French, for the years 1878 and 1905-1911 (Add. MSS. 49322-9): that for 1878 contains a characteristically Gilbertian telegraphic code presumably intended for reporting on the reception of his work in America; the code-words range from 'basket', for 'piece enormously successful', through successively less enthusiastic verdicts until we reach bottom with 'billiards' ('piece an absolute failure') and 'bishop' ('piece hissed'). In addition, the visitors' and menu-book (Add. MSS. 49346, 7) for Grims Dyke, the house in Harrow Weald which was Gilbert's home for the last twenty years of his life, give a fascinating glimpse of a now almost legendary social period.

In conclusion, it is necessary to record the fact that some unbound portions of this collection (chiefly the correspondence) are as yet unarranged and are not, at the time of writing, available to the public.

K. W. GRANSDEN and P. J. WILLETTS

GREEK AND GRAECO-INDIAN COINS FROM THE HAUGHTON COLLECTION

THE Museum has fortunately been able to secure a selection of important coins from the collection formed by the late General H. L. Haughton, during and after his many years of distinguished service in India—a collection which is certainly one of the last of its kind likely to be dispersed in this country.

General Haughton's interests as a coin collector were concentrated on the Hellenistic period, embracing particularly the empire of Alexander and that of the Seleucids in the Near East, and on the other hand the succession kingdoms of the Greeks in Bactria (northern Afghanistan) and north-western India, which were followed by those of the Sakas, Parthians, and Kushans. The history of the hellenization of Nearer Asia, which was the greatest consequence of Alexander's conquests, can be illuminated in every phase by the evidence of the coins: indeed with regard to the Greek kingdoms in India, the value of this evidence cannot be exaggerated, for without the coins the very existence of many of a long line of rulers would be quite unknown to us.

Needless to say, the group of these coins which the Museum has now acquired (and from which some of the rarities are illustrated on Plate xxii) is one of its most important accessions in this field. With this latest addition to a collection already enriched by the important accession from Cunningham (1890 and 1894) and Whitehead (1922), it is not too much to say that in the field of Graeco-Indian coins the Museum's collection has no serious rival in the world.

We first describe three gold coins, two of the Seleucids and one of the Kushans. Number 1 is an extremely rare stater of Seleucus I (305–280 B.C.) which was found in Afghanistan: the only other specimen recorded was in the Berlin collection. The obverse represents the head of Apollo, of superlative Greek workmanship: and on the reverse is Artemis, in a chariot drawn by four elephants, preparing to shoot with bow and arrow. The Apollo head is nowhere else in evidence on the coinage of precious metals under Seleucus I, in spite of the importance of this deity, as progenitor of the royal line, in the state cult: afterwards Apollo seated on the Delphic omphalos becomes the regular reverse type of the dynastic coinage, as we see it in numbers 2 and 5 of the coins here illustrated. This gold stater was struck at the mint of Susa (in south-western Persia). The next piece, number 2, is a unique stater of Antiochus II (261–246 B.C.), with the king's portrait on the obverse and the Apollo reverse: also on the reverse is the mint-mark, an amphora, of Myrina in Ionia where the coin was struck. Number 3, by contrast, is a gold stater of the Kushan emperor Huvishka who ruled over Afghanistan and northern India in the second century

A.D.: here we see on the obverse a portrait of the ruler shown at half-length in the trappings of oriental royalty with a nimbus behind the head and with his name and titles in Kushan script. The reverse, however, as is customary in the coinage of the Kushans, is on the classical model adapted from Rome and Alexandria—in this case a male deity, holding tongs and a wreath, who should be Vulcan-Hephaistos though the legend is enigmatic and so far unexplained (it appears to read *Maiissossh*).

The rest of our selection are all silver coins except number 11 which is bronze. First three Greek specimens from the Near East: of these number 4 is a tetradrachm of Alexander minted at Babylon where he died after his return from India. The types are those which were uniformly used at all Alexander's mints in Europe and Asia alike, a head of Herakles wearing the lion's scalp and an enthroned figure of Zeus. The specimen before us is a great rarity on account of a small detail; on each of the uprights of the throne of Zeus is a small eagle. The next coin, number 5, gives a splendid portrait of the Seleucid king Antiochus III (223–187 B.C.) for the greater part of whose reign the Seleucid empire retained its widest extent: on the reverse beside the seated Apollo is a small horse's head, the mint-mark of Ecbatana (Hamadan). Number 6 is a rare tetradrachm of the type minted by the Seleucids in Phoenicia, on the reverse of which an eagle, derived from the Ptolemaic coinage, replaces the usual Apollo: it was minted at Ake-Ptolemaïs (Acre) for the usurper Tryphon (142–138 B.C.).

We now turn to coins minted in India, principally those of the Bactrian Greeks who broke away from the Seleucid empire and held a sizeable dominion from the Hindu Kush down to the Indus and beyond, even after the loss of Bactria itself c. 130 B.C. to invaders from central Asia. The coins are almost without exception bilingual, with the king's name and titles in Greek on the obverse, and in Prakrit (written in the Kharosthi script) on the reverse. Numbers 7–8 are drachms respectively of Heliocles II and Philoxenus. Heliocles is shown in head and shoulders view, helmeted, an aegis on his shoulder and brandishing a spear: on the reverse, Zeus with thunderbolt and sceptre. On number 8, which is of the typically Indian square shape, the king is shown in a similar pose but without the helmet: while the reverse has an equestrian figure of the king (or perhaps of Alexander).¹

Number 9 is a tetradrachm of Antialcidas, the Greek king mentioned in the inscription on the Besnagar pillar: the interesting reverse type shows Zeus standing in front of an elephant on whose head is a small winged victory. Zeus and the elephant are surely complementary and not conflicting figures: the general conception seems to be of the animal as the attribute of the deity—as the eagle is to Zeus in the Greek world so is the elephant in the Graeco-Indian. We have other designs which show Zeus enthroned with the elephant beside him. Whether the Zeus in question can be regarded as the local tutelary deity of

Alexandria-Kapisa, under the Hindu Kush, is more debatable: though it was probably there that this coin was minted. The obverse type of the king, similar to that of numbers 7-8, is of no less interest. It surely reflects some Hellenistic prototype: and a similar prototype must lie behind the depiction of the ruler as we sometimes find it later in the west, in Roman art, for instance in the famous Blacas cameo of Augustus,² and in various later medallions and coins, from Marcus Aurelius to Probus.³ There again we have the ruler's bare shoulders seen from behind, partly covered with the aegis, and a spear held in front. The design as it occurs on the Graeco-Indian coins of around 100 B.C., where the king is actually thrusting with the spear, is not only more dramatic, but substantially earlier than the other extant versions.

The next tetradrachm, number 10, shows the jugate busts of Strato I and Agathocleia: this Strato may conceivably be a son of Menander, in whose reign, shortly after 150 B.C., the Greek domain in India reached its widest limits. The reverse type is Menander's, the Athena Alkidemos reproducing a famous statue at Pella in Macedonia:⁴ and in order to emphasize the still potent link with Macedonia, many of Alexander's successors used this type for their coins. The particular importance of this new coin for the Museum's collection is, however, that it is the sole extant specimen on which the name of the queen, always present in the Greek legend with that of the king, appears also in the Prakrit on the reverse. The question whether Agathocleia was Strato's mother or his wife remains undecided, but it may be remarked that her position on the present coin—farther away from the spectator, with Strato on the nearer side—does not support the idea of her being his mother. The only coinage in the Hellenistic world which depicts a queen mother ruling with her son is a Seleucid one, that of Cleopatra Thea with Antiochus VIII,⁵ and there Cleopatra is shown nearest the spectator. In the case of Strato and Agathocleia we have the opposite arrangement, which by analogy invariably depicts a king with his wife. There also exist, indeed, coins on which the effigy or name of Agathocleia alone appears on the obverse, the name of Strato being confined to the reverse of the coin; but does this necessarily mean that Agathocleia was queen regent at the start of Strato's reign, as is usually assumed? If she was rather Strato's wife she may have predeceased him, and the coins showing her alone on the obverse could well be regarded as having a commemorative character, like the Arsinoë coinage in Ptolemaic Egypt. If this were the case, it would give more point to the epithet 'Theotropos' ('godlike') which is applied to Agathocleia in those cases where she is alone on the obverse of the coin. But the uncertainty which attends this particular point is typical of the difficulties to be encountered in making any detailed reconstruction of the history of the Greeks in India.

The Greek rulers in India so far mentioned all belong to the period, from mid-second century to early first century B.C., in which the Greek power in

north-west India remained virtually unchallenged. During the course of the first century, however, a wave of non-Greek invaders drove the Greeks back from the Indus into the recesses of the Kabul Valley on the one hand and towards the Sialkot area on the other. A Greek counter-attack from the east resulted in the temporary repossession of Taxila and perhaps also the Peshawar area by Apollodotus II (between c. 70 and c. 50 B.C.): a unique bronze coin of this king is shown as number 11 on our plate. It was found at Charsadda, the ancient Pushkalavati, but may have been minted at Taxila. After a short time, however, Apollodotus and his immediate successor Hippostratus appear to have been overcome by a fresh wave of non-Greeks led by Azes I, a Saka or perhaps Iranian ruler, and the Greeks were this time permanently dislodged from the area about the Indus. In number 12, a unique silver tetradrachm, we see the product of the mint of Taxila, now working for Azes.⁶ In spite of the continued use of Greek and Prakrit legends on the model of the earlier Greek coinages, and the figure of the Greek Zeus holding a victory on the reverse, there is a significant difference: no longer is there a portrait of the Greek style on the obverse, but the king is now shown as a mailed lancer on horseback. This new design is the distinctive mark of almost all the coins issued by Azes and his successors, whose coins have been found by the thousand in Sir John Marshall's excavations at Taxila, and elsewhere. Portraiture had disappeared: and when it came back later on under the Kushan dynasty it was conceived in purely oriental and non-Greek terms, as we see in our coin of Huvishka (number 3).

G. K. JENKINS

¹ Occasionally, specimens of Philoxenus' coins, including a tetradrachm in the British Museum from the Tatta find of 1887, show what appears to be intended as a pair of horns on top of the horse's head. If so, the horse should be Bucephalus, and the rider Alexander. For Alexander on horseback, compare the famous medallion showing Alexander attacking Porus who is on an elephant (*Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks in the British Museum*, pl. 27. 4)—a scene which may reflect the bronze reliefs in a temple at Taxila described by Philostratus.

² Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait Sculpture* (British Museum, 1935), pl. 23.

³ e.g. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, pl. xlii. 1, pl. xlvii. 6. The exact pose of our Antialcidas coin occurs, however, on a Roman republican denarius of c. 103 B.C. (Sydenham, *Coinage of the Roman Republic*, 564)—thus, of almost exactly the same date—showing a bust of Veiovis wielding a thunderbolt.

⁴ *Museum Notes*, iv (American Numismatic Society), pp. 55 ff.

⁵ Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. liv. 5.

⁶ Cf. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, xvii (1955), pt. 11 (pl. iii. 8), and pp. 1 ff. for a discussion of the Greeks and Sakas in the first century B.C.

AN IMPORTANT GROUP OF TENTH-CENTURY PENCE

THROUGH the generosity of their previous owner, the National Collection has been able to make a prior selection of silver pence of the first half of the tenth century from a private collection about to be dispersed, and also to acquire (on singularly favourable terms) such pieces as were needed to fill gaps in the British Museum trays. The collection had been put together by the Hon. R. W. H. Erskine to illustrate the relevance of the coins to the pattern of the reduction of the so-called Danelaw under the son and grandsons of Alfred the Great, and the discrimination of the former owner may be measured by the fact that of twenty-three coins acquired by the British Museum ten are believed to be unique.

Earliest in point of date is a penny of the southern (? Winchester) moneyer Tila which we now know to have been struck before c. 910 (Pl. xxiii, 1). Later in Edward the Elder's reign, Tila was a prolific moneyer, but this is one of his rare pennies struck on the small flans that are characteristic of coins from the Cuerdale hoard and the period immediately after its deposit.¹ The second coin illustrated (Pl. xxiii, 2) is of cardinal importance. In the 1893 volume of the *British Museum Catalogue*, Keary recorded the type on the strength of a line-engraving of a badly broken coin in the 1862 St. John's Hoard from Chester, but no coin of the type was known to Brooke who accordingly omitted it from his *English Coins*. The present coin cannot be the vanished St. John's coin—for one thing it is unbroken and shows no sign of repair—and for practical purposes it may be regarded as unique. It is to be dated c. 915 and represents a blundered imitation—possibly Hiberno-Norse—cf coins of the north-western mints already striking under Alfred and reorganized by Æthelflæda concomitantly with the advance of the English frontier across Danish Mercia. It will be remembered that a similar Hiberno-Norse imitation was one of the more notable acquisitions at the Lockett Sale,² and a prototype of the Lockett coin in fact appears among the new purchases (Pl. xxiii, 3). Although chipped it is of finer workmanship than the coin already in the British Museum (*B.M.C.* 105) which has recently been proved to be from the Cotton collection.

The 'architectural' types of Edward the Elder are now firmly linked with Chester,³ and the British Museum possesses all but one of the varieties. Hitherto, however, it has lacked any example struck by the moneyer Eadwald (Pl. xxiii, 4). This coin has been considered a cast—probably because the obverse has been overcleaned—but if it had been it would have been from a lost original. The coin, moreover, has since been subjected to micrographical examination at the Royal Mint and the scientific report states categorically that 'it is certainly not cast'. Almost certainly it is the piece recorded by Taylor Combe in his 1803

manuscript corpus of Ancient British and Anglo-Saxon coins.⁴ A second specimen from different dies has since occurred in the Vatican City hoard dispersed in 1928,⁵ but the previous owner, although convinced of his coin's authenticity, insisted that it should be acquired by the National Collection for a purely nominal sum. A recent paper has dated comparable coins to c. 915, and this dating may seem borne out by another acquisition (Pl. xxiii, 5), a late penny of Edward the Elder overstruck, obverse on obverse, upon one of the 'architectural' coins. On the reverse of the coin the criss-cross of the masonry is clearly distinguishable.

Another Chester coin (Pl. xxiii, 6) is remarkable because of the rosettes of pellets below and above the moneyer's name. Under Æthelstan these pellets were to be adopted as the 'privy marks' of coins struck at the mints of Chester, Tamworth, Shrewsbury, Derby, Warwick, and Hereford, but this is the first time that this feature has been noted on a coin of Edward the Elder.⁶ Only less important is another late and unpublished penny of that king by the Derby moneyer Megenfreth (Pl. xxiii, 7). Not only is the coin notable for the form of the final consonant of the moneyer's name, but it may seem to clinch the writer's reattribution to this moneyer of another coin from the Cotton collection (*B.M.C.* 3).⁷

A late portrait coin of the same reign (Pl. xxiii, 8) from the Vatican hoard provides another link between reigns as the reverse is identical in style with an early Æthelstan penny (Pl. xxiii, 9). Unpublished is a coin of an unrecorded moneyer Friothulf (Pl. xxiii, 10) to be dated c. 920. All three of these coins are of markedly southern style and they were almost certainly struck on or south of the Thames. Such finality is still impossible in the case of four other coins of Edward (Pl. xxiii, 11–14), a penny of the moneyer Agnes otherwise known only from the 1884 House of the Vestal Virgins hoard from the Forum at Rome, an unrecorded penny of a moneyer Wulfric probably from southern England, a unique penny of a moneyer Rodberht and a rare penny on which the moneyer's name is usually read as Winegar but which could as well be Earhdwine. All these coins are to be dated to the decade c. 915–25, as is a penny—almost certainly from the Midlands—of a moneyer Willaf (Pl. xxiii, 15). It will be noticed that it is identical in style with an interesting penny of the same moneyer of Æthelstan (Pl. xxiii, 16) which shows on the reverse clear traces of having been marked out for eventual division into farthings (literally 'fourthings'). The farthing as such was not struck in England until 1280/1, and halfpence only intermittently. Consequently normal practice was simply to cut up pennies on those occasions when small change was required.

Under Edward the Elder the right of the Archbishops of Canterbury to strike coins in their own name was finally abolished. Already under Æthelwulf and Alfred it had been severely curtailed, and it would perhaps be unwise to read too much into the possibility that Archbishop Athelm, who succeeded Plegmund

in 914, may have been Edward's elder cousin and the son of Alfred's elder brother Æthelred. One of the very latest coins of Plegmund is undoubtedly a penny (Pl. xxiii, 17) from the Vatican hoard struck on an unusually broad flan.

Two unique pennies of the so-called 'circular' type introduced by Æthelstan c. 930 are interesting because of the moneyers' names. One is by a Derby moneyer whose name has been read as Gadierd but which is more probably Thurgar (Pl. xxiii, 18), and the other is without mint-signature but by a moneyer with the unrecorded name Bernwig (Pl. xxiii, 19). Last of the purely English pence is one of Eadred (946-55). The style of the coin (Pl. xxiii, 20) is York, and the moneyer's name is possibly a blundering of Arnulf who is known to have struck coins for the English king after the definitive incorporation of York into England in 954.

To judge not only from the names of the moneyers, the inhabitants of York were almost entirely of Scandinavian descent, and there is reason to believe that the Danish population with its commercial interests acquiesced in English overlordship as a welcome alternative to the turbulence of Hiberno-Norse sea-kings such as Sihtric and Eric Bloodaxe. Three further coins throw some light on this eventful phase in the history of northern England. The first (Pl. xxiii, 21) was struck by the known York moneyer Ingelgar for the swaggering Anlaf Guthrithsson on the occasion of the invasion of 939/40, which for a time seemed as though it would reverse the verdict of Brunanburgh. The types are those of English coins of Derby. Only one other coin of this type and moneyer is known and it is in the Coats collection in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. The other two pennies were struck for Anlaf's cousin, Anlaf Sihtricsson, a more subdued personality who promptly surrendered almost all that had been won. His coins were modelled on contemporary English pence and were doubtless intended to circulate freely beside them. One is by the prolific moneyer Faraman (Pl. xxiii, 22) who like Ingelgar coined for whichever king held York, were he Norwegian or West Saxon. These particular dies, however, were not represented in the National Collection. The other coin is unique and unpublished (Pl. xxiii, 23) though the moneyer Arnulf is known at York a few years earlier under Æthelstan. It is indeed suggestive that all the moneyers concerned seemed to have had no difficulty in transferring their allegiance. There is reason to believe that they were drawn from among the wealthy merchants, and the final expulsion of Eric reflected the fact that it was not in their interests for York to be a Jomsborg, or even a Quentovic.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

¹ R. H. M. Dolley, *The Mint of Chester* (Part I), *Chester Archaeological Society's Journal*, xlii (1955), p. 4.

² *B.M.Q.* 1956, p. 68 and pl. xxi. 12.

³ Dolley, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴ *B.M.Q.* 1954, p. 76.

⁵ Glendining Sale, 13. xi. 28, lot 58.

⁶ Dolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

⁷ *B.N.J.* xxviii, p. 47.

AN ETRUSCAN IVORY BAND

THE ivory band illustrated here (Pl. xxiv) was acquired by the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in 1955.¹

The band consists of a hollow ring of ivory, almost paper thin at the edges and rather thicker in the middle, which has been made either by hollowing out a solid section of elephant's tusk or, more probably, by cutting the hollow root end and then working over the inside. At present the ring is not complete; at some time it snapped, losing about 1 inch of its circumference in the process, and was then bent in on itself into an oval shape. Originally it must have been fairly accurately circular and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ –4 inches in diameter.

The outside of the band, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, is carved in low relief with a frieze of alternate Gorgon heads and palmettes between two narrow borders of maeander ornament. The scrolls at the base of the palmettes continue upwards to frame them, and then form an angular coil in the spaces above. Inside the maeander border are two thin lines of beading. Originally there were four Gorgons and four palmettes in the frieze, but the major part of one palmette and the lower part of one Gorgon head have been lost. There are also some small holes caused by decay in the thin ivory.

It seems fairly certain that the band was made to be a bracelet; it would be rather too large for the wrist and must have been worn well up on the forearm in a position where a bangle is frequently worn by Greek women. The alternative is that it formed part of a box, but such boxes of pyxis shape are normally made from a single piece of ivory. Some of the larger pyxides are, indeed, made from several pieces, but the ivory must be thick enough to joint in the base and cut rebate for the lid. On the whole, one prefers to think of it as complete in itself and as an article of female ornament; the most likely explanation of its survival is that it was buried with its owner as a treasured possession or perhaps as an amulet.

The band came to the Museum without any information on its provenience. Gorgons are ubiquitous in the archaic world to which our band certainly belongs, and they do not fall easily into families. These are good-looking as early Gorgons go, though they are a long way from being attractive, as Gorgons later became. They have nice wavy hair curling at the end of long tresses, big archaic eyes (made straight or sloping according to the whim of the artist), thin noses with wide nostrils, well-modelled ears sticking out in front of the hair, wide mouths turned up in a fierce grin, with teeth that are powerful enough but not so fierce as the long molars grown by some of their family. But there is no very close parallel that comes to mind to enable us to assign them immediately to any particular branch of the Gorgon family.

In the case of the palmettes one is on rather firmer ground. They are made

distinctive by the little palmette in the heart of the larger, consisting of five leaves in a frame above the base scrolls. This detail is not common; it can be traced to a group of grave-stelae from Samos,² to Athenian architectural terracottas of the later sixth century,³ to an Etruscan stela from Londa, now in the Archaeological Museum at Florence,⁴ and to another stela from Antella.⁵ Of these, the Etruscan examples seem to be the closest to those on the band. . . . Another decorative detail which finds its nearest parallels in Etruscan work is the very compact maeander on the borders; very similar to this version is the motif on the Etruscan gold cup from Palestrina in the Victoria and Albert Museum.⁶

The detail of the decoration seems to point very strongly to the band having been made in Etruria in the sixth century B.C., and with the Etruscan connexion in mind, it is not difficult to find Gorgons in the same area with a strong family likeness to those on the band. The Gorgons on the Etruscan chariot in the Metropolitan Museum,⁷ particularly the one on the shield of the fighting warrior, are very similar, especially in the rendering of the hair and the modelling around the mouth. The chariot is dated, on the evidence of associated Attic pottery, to the third quarter of the sixth century, a date which could well be given to our ivory band. Another Gorgon, not unlike, occurs on an Etruscan bronze cover from Castel S. Mariano in Munich,⁸ and yet another, later in date but of the same family, is embossed on a silver disk in the British Museum, said to have been found at Populonia.⁹

There can be little doubt that the band is Etruscan work of the second half of the sixth century B.C., and, in fact, the whole decorative scheme of the piece seems to be more in the Etruscan character than in the pure Greek. These Gorgons, although they retain much of their archaic fierceness, have lost something of their meaning and are well on their way to becoming part of a frankly decorative scheme, a role they often perform in late Etruscan and hence in Roman Art. The Gorgon does not normally appear in this sort of context in the pure Greek world.

Etruria has proved one of the richest areas for ivory carvings of the archaic period, most of which seem to be of local manufacture, though strongly influenced by the arts of Greece and the East. The earliest, like the decorated arm from the Barberini Tomb,¹⁰ are often thought of as Phoenician or Cypriote, and are certainly heavily indebted to Assyrian and Egyptian motives. In the later sixth century, as, for example, on a group of decorative plaques from boxes, a number of which are in the British Museum,¹¹ the themes are more purely Etruscan, but the style is archaic Greek. Our band, which seems to be very much east-Greek in inspiration, is a valuable addition to the number of sixth-century Etruscan ivories, and one of the finest we have.

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- ¹ Registration 1955, 10-25, 1.
² *Ath. Mitt.* lviii (1933), pls. xi-xv.
³ T. Wiegand, *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen*, Cassel, 1904, pp. 186-91, figs. 196-209.
⁴ L. A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, Florence, 1912, pl. cxvi.
⁵ J. Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, Paris, 1889, fig. 165.
⁶ M. Pallottino and M. Hürlimann, *Art of the Etruscans*, London, 1955, pl. 27.
⁷ G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1915, no. 40.
⁸ Pallottino and Hürlimann, op. cit., pl. 51.
⁹ *B.M.Q.* xv. (1941-50), pp. 62-64, pl. xxviii.
¹⁰ F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, Berlin, 1912, pp. 131-2.
¹¹ *Röm. Mitt.* xxi (1906), pp. 314-31.

AN ETRUSCAN NECK-AMPHORA

THE Greek and Roman Department has recently acquired the black-figured Etruscan neck-amphora¹ shown in Plate xxv. Except for a small piece missing from one handle the vase is complete and unbroken; the surface both of the black gloss and the pale orange slip has been considerably worn.

On the principal face a bearded centaur with human forelegs moves to the right. He turns round towards a youth whom he carries on his back, and makes as if to grasp his beard with his left hand. The centaur parries with his right fist and has lifted a boulder with his left arm, possibly with the intention of dislodging the rider, who in turn has drawn a dagger with his right hand and seems determined to retain his seat. The drawing is rough but vigorous, and the whole scene appears to be conceived in a light-hearted spirit suggesting playful sparring rather than mortal combat. It is unnecessary to look for any definite mythological content in this singular scene. The boulder is a conventional weapon of centaurs engaged in battle with Lapiths but seems an awkward weapon for our centaur in his present posture; while the youth with the dagger looks like a parody of the Herakles who so frequently pursues his rival Nessos with a similar weapon in early Attic black-figure. The Etruscan artist has apparently selected incongruous elements from a mythology which he imperfectly understood so as to produce an original and entertaining composition.

A more typically Etruscan figure appears on the reverse. A dancer whose anatomy and pose have a strong resemblance to the forepart of our centaur is seen whirling round in rapid motion. He wears a cloak brought over both shoulders and passing behind the thigh; although billowing in the air and obviously moving at great speed it preserves a careful symmetrical arrangement of folds at either end. The whole figure is reminiscent of several scenes from painted tombs at Tarquinia,² while the narrow cloak with its symmetrical

arrangement is first found on Attic red-figure vases near the close of the sixth century B.C.³ Our vase may be dated by the style of the figures to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., a comparatively unknown phase of Etruscan ceramic art. While there is not yet sufficient published evidence to justify an attribution, a parallel to the unusual arrangement of palmettes under the handles may be found on an amphora at Munich (no. 883).⁴

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¹ Height, 16 inches: shape as Richter and Milne, *Shapes and names of Athenian vases*, fig. 14 registration number 1956, 12-20, 1.

² Cf. the Tomba dei Leopardi (the cup-bearer) and several dancers from the Tomba del Triclinio; Pallottino, *Etruscan painting* (Skira, 1952), pp. 68, 75, 78.

³ Cf. in particular three vases by Euthymides:

Munich 2307, 2309, and Berlin 2180; Hoppin, *Euthymides and his Fellows* (Harvard, 1917), pls. i, iii, xxi.

⁴ Sieveking and Hackl, *Die Königliche Vasensammlung zu München*, 1912, abb. 132, p. 118; mentioned by Beazley, *Etruscan vase painting*, p. 21.

AN EARLY CAROLINGIAN FINGER-RING

THE Department of British and Medieval Antiquities has recently acquired an unprovenanced finger-ring (Reg. No. 1956, 12-2, 1) of early Carolingian date (Pl. xxvi *a, b*). The ring is of gilt-bronze and is 2.5 cm. in diameter, being formed of a simple loop of semi-circular cross-section expanding towards a bezel. There is an empty oval setting at the bezel on either side of which is a formalized animal, executed in a chip-carved technique. Apart from minor details, both animals are of similar design (Pl. xxvi *c*): they are backward-looking with a large squared snout, open mouth, and spiral eye; the head being a rounded continuation of the thick neck. The front leg stretches out, below the bezel, and interlaces twice with the leg-like terminal of an interlaced feature of the opposing animal. This feature consists of a simple loop through the lower jaw and round the body (which it penetrates in two places) broadening to an internal point below the belly; it has an offshoot which penetrates the neck of the animal to interlace twice with the front leg of the opposing animal. From the spiral hip of the front leg the band-like body tapers towards the leaf-shaped tail. The hips of the animal are splayed and the legs bent, each paw having two or three toes. Between the tail and the upper leg is a leaf-like feature. A plain bar at the back separates the hind quarters of the two animals. Although the surface of the ring is much worn, the thick gilding remains in the chip-carved spaces, in the socket of the bezel, in the secondary engraving, and inside the loop of the ring. The secondary engravings pick out

certain details and it is to be presumed that these were repeated on each animal: the partial penetration of the various parts of the body is indicated in this manner, as are the eyes and the spiral in the front hips. The hind quarters of one of the animals also show traces of panelling with cross-hatching.

The animals on this ring are typical of a group recently recognized and discussed by Professor Haseloff.¹ They form the chief motif in an Anglo-German Art which flourished on the Continent at the end of the eighth century. They are best seen on the most important object of the group, the Tassilo Chalice, the chief treasure of the Abbey of Kremsmünster, which was made at the order of Duke Tassilo between 777 and 788.² The animals of the frieze of this cup exhibit most of the features of the animals on the ring: the interlace through the open jaws, the spiral hip, the two-toed foot, the leaf-like termination of the tail, and especially the splayed back legs. But the closest parallel to the ring is provided by a mount, from the Viking town of Birka, now in the Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.³ On this object practically every feature, other than the spiral eye, the panelling of the hips, and the interlaced front leg, is paralleled. The latter feature is an unimportant detail depending solely on the design of the ring and the spiral eye is not known elsewhere in the ornament of this school. The panelled hips are to be seen, however, on a silver-gilt cup from Fejø, Lolland, Denmark, in the National Museum of Copenhagen,⁴ and on a strap-end from Salzwedel, in the Salzwedel Museum.⁵

The workmanship of this ring is of the highest quality, only equalled in three other pieces: the Tassilo Chalice, the Birka strap-mount, and the Fejo cup. The great similarity in workmanship between the ring, the chalice, and the strap-end is very striking: the quality of the gilding, for instance, on the ring and the strap-end is practically unparalleled in its period. Although it is perhaps dangerous to assign specific pieces to workshops in the early Middle Ages it is not impossible to suggest that the ring and the strap-end and, possibly, the chalice were made in the same workshop. Whether this be the case or not, there can be little doubt that the ring belongs to the period of the Tassilo Chalice and can be dated to the last half of the eighth century.

The ring is paralleled in shape and design by a silver-gilt ring from the Franks Bequest in the Museum's collections⁶ which has a classical sard intaglio set in the bezel. The design on the Franks ring (Pl. xxvi *d*) is not far removed from that on the new ring and the form of the two rings is very close. The two must be of more or less contemporary date.

Another ring of comparative date which is very close in its composition is an Anglo-Saxon example from the River Reno, near Bologna.⁷ This also has interlaced animals on either side of the bezel though in a rather more complicated pattern and a different technique; it is of gold inlaid with niello.

The only other piece of metal-work in the Museum's collections belonging

to the school of the new ring is a cruciform brooch from Ballycottin Bog, Youghal, Co. Cork.⁸ The workmanship of this cross is of inferior standard and the Museum must consider itself fortunate in acquiring such a fine piece as this ring.

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¹ G. Haseloff, *Der Tassilokelch*, München, 1951.

² Ibid., pl. 1 and fig. 2.

³ H. Arbman, *Birka, Die Gräber*, vol. i, Stockholm, 1940, pl. 99. 9. A slightly inaccurate drawing, but one which gives a good idea of the animal, is published in Haseloff, op. cit., fig. 18.

⁴ S. Müller, *Ornning av Danmarks Oldsager*, Kjøbenhavn, 1888/95, pl. xlii. 670.

⁵ G. Haseloff, op. cit., p. 38, fig. 24.

⁶ O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings . . . in the Museum*, London, British Museum, 1912, No. 168; British Museum, *A Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities*, London, 1923, fig. 203.

⁷ *Bolletino d'Arte*, Anno iii, S. ii (1923), p. 241.

⁸ A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, vol. i, Dublin, 1932, pl. 35. 1.

THE BOWCOCK BOWL

THE Department of British and Medieval Antiquities has recently acquired a document of prime importance in the history of the Bow Porcelain factory, the Bowcock Bowl (1956, 5-3, 1). The Museum owes this acquisition to the very generous co-operation of Mr. Allman, who not only discovered the bowl but has also contributed towards its purchase.

This punch-bowl of Bow porcelain is inscribed on the base: 'John and Ann Bowcock, 1759' (Pl. xxvii b). The exterior is decorated with a powdered blue ground and reserved panels in white painted with chinoiserie. (Pl. xxvii a.) Inside a large panel is painted with a scene of three sailors landing on the shore, while the central figure of a man, who appears to have stepped from the rowing-boat, holds a bowl in his hands (Pl. xxvii a). The diameter of the bowl is 8 in.

One of the first successful attempts to make porcelain china in imitation of the Chinese in England appears to have been at the Bow China Works, Stratford-atte-Bow, London, in 1744 or soon after. But the identification of Bow china has depended until now on the evidence of the following five documents: an inscribed inkpot dated 1750, the Thomas Craft Bowl (1760) and its accompanying written document signed by Thomas Craft, a painter of the factory, two plates inscribed Robert Crowther, 1770, some fragments found on the site of the factory and the Papers of John Bowcock,¹ Clerk to the factory. All these primary sources are in the British Museum, though some more fragments from the site, together with a similar inkpot dated 1751, are to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

In the Papers of John Bowcock, consisting of the accounts of the factory in the years 1750-8, sketches for objects and figures, and various letters and memoranda, appears this reference under the heading of 'Papers relating to the Pedigree of the Bowcocks': 'On a punch-bowl is John and Ann Bowcock 1759, on the inside is himself landing and sailors dancing with staffs in their hands.' There can be no doubt that the bowl referred to in these Papers is the one which has just been acquired by the British Museum.

We owe the discovery of the true identity of the bowl to Mr. Allman. It was for a long time in a private collection near Liverpool, where it was always regarded as a piece of Liverpool ware painted by Zachariah Barnes, whose initials were thought to be painted on the exterior. When Mr. Allman came to catalogue this collection, he not only recognized the bowl as a piece of Bow porcelain, but realized that the initials were not ZB but JB and that they must stand for a Bow painter or for John Bowcock. With his knowledge of the Bow factory, Mr. Allman readily appreciated the historical significance of a dated piece of Bow porcelain intimately connected with the 'Clerk' of the Bow factory and his wife Ann, and he acquired it for his own collection. Determined that so valuable a piece should no longer run the hazards of fortune in private hands Mr. Allman has most generously enabled it to join the national collections.

It is difficult to be certain what event the punch-bowl commemorates. Though the date of the marriage of John and Ann Bowcock is not yet known, the letters of John Bowcock to his mother indicate that they were married in 1749. It is clear from these letters that John Bowcock was a sailor—in one letter, 'steward of the ship'—and that throughout the war of the Austrian Succession, which ended in 1748, he convoyed ships from America and even had encounters with the French at sea. In March 1749 a letter signed John and Ann Bowcock states that he is 'not settled in business as yet' and very soon after he returned to the sea. He was still at sea in 1751 and a letter dated 30 June 1753 signed by John Bowcock of 'Bow China Warehouse, Cornhill' is the first evidence that he had settled in business at Bow. He was Clerk to the China works for the next ten years, though his position seems to have been advanced in the late fifties. He spent the first eight months of 1758 in Dublin, as the firm's representative, receiving consignments from the works, which were sold partly by auction and partly through personal contacts he made there. In 1759, the year when the bowl was made, Mr. Thomas Frye (1710-62), the manager of the factory and part inventor of English porcelain, retired for reasons of ill health. It may therefore be conjectured that the bowl commemorates one of three events: a ten-year wedding anniversary, and the scene painted inside the bowl may symbolize John Bowcock exchanging his life at sea for his work in the porcelain manufactory at Bow: secondly, his return from a successful visit to Ireland, in which case the scene may represent Bowcock landing at Dublin bringing Bow porcelain

to Ireland; or finally it could be the gift of the china works to John Bowcock as the new manager in place of Thomas Frye. John Bowcock died in 1765 and we know little of the story of the last years of his life. His only son, John, was born in 1758 and his wife, Ann (*née* Wilkinson), was thirty-two years old when the bowl was inscribed in 1759. A letter from her brother, Richard, of 23 July 1761 is addressed to 'John Bowcock with Mr. Mackay at Little Leigh, near Northwich, Cheshire'. This gives the clue to how the bowl came to the north of England, where it seems to have remained in obscurity and even to have lost its true identity until the present day.

HUGH TAIT

¹ In the past many writers have spelt the name 'Bowcock' with an 'e' at the end. The letters of John Bowcock to his mother establish beyond doubt that the family name was spelt without an 'e'. The inscription on the bowl confirms this interpretation.

A RECENT GIFT OF ISLAMIC POTTERY

THE collection of Islamic pottery which Sir Alan Barlow has so generously divided between the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Museum of Eastern Art, Oxford, is well known to students. Sir Alan and Lady Barlow have presented to the National Collection six pieces each of which represents a type of pottery either inadequately or not at all represented in the Islamic collection.¹

Fine pottery of a truly Islamic character began to be produced in Mesopotamia under the successors of the Caliph Harun-ar-Rashid. Credit must go to these Muslim potters for the discovery of the technique of painting in metallic lustre and cobalt blue on an opaque white tin glaze. Fragments have been found from Spain to Sind, so great was the prestige of these metropolitan products. Whole vessels are uncommon. One of these (illustrated on Pl. xxviii) is a bowl painted in ruby and yellow lustre.² The Museum possesses fragments painted in a similar combination of lustre tones but whole examples are exceedingly rare. It has been argued convincingly that those pieces painted with ruby lustre represent an early stage in the history of lustre decorated pottery and date before A.D. 850.

Of about the same date is a bowl of similar shape painted in blue on a greyish-white ground and with a six-lobed figure enclosing a six-pointed star and a rosette in the centre.³ Four splashes of green glaze have been allowed to run over into the design. A predilection for geometric ornament is characteristic of this early phase of Islamic pottery; and is a feature of a ware decorated in light relief under an over-all lustre. The latter is a survival and adaptation of the lead-glaze

relief wares of Egypt and is among the earliest techniques practised in Mesopotamia under the Abbasid Caliphs.

Almost contemporary with the tin-glazed wares of Mesopotamia are the slip-painted wares of Eastern Persia and Transoxiana. A fine example of the bold polychrome effects is a straight-sided bowl painted in purple-black and red on a white ground under a clear glaze.⁴ A red band of decorative Kufic is flanked by palmettes in red and black: a larger and more fantastic palmette rendered in the same colours is placed opposite the inscribed band and in the interspaces rosettes with black petals and red centres. In the centre of the bowl is the representation of a ewer with a long spout rising from a globular body and a curving handle uniting the body and long tapering neck. A similar decor is found in a bowl in the Louvre and another lacking the ewer was found at Nishapur in the excavations carried out by the American expedition.⁵ Our bowl, too, probably was made in Nishapur, the western capital of the Samanid Kingdom in the tenth century.

Pottery production in Persia during the eleventh century was apparently at a low ebb but revived at the beginning of the following century under the patronage of the Seljuk rulers. Potters discovered a way of producing a body harder and thinner than that of previous wares. No doubt this was an attempt to compete with the fine white Sung porcelains, notably the Ting ware which was arriving in the Near East at this period: but the Persian potters were able to assert their originality in adapting the technique of carved decoration to traditional Islamic shapes and ornament. Typical is a beaker from the Barlow collection tapering towards the foot and carved with a band of palmettes.⁶ It probably dates from the early twelfth century.

In a fairly well-known type of Seljuk pottery, the design is realized by removing with the knife portions of a black clay slip to reveal the light texture of the underlying body-clay. Vessels are coated with either a turquoise or a colourless glaze. The Museum possesses examples of the former but none of such fine quality as a bowl from the Barlow collection decorated with the figure of a male dancer in silhouette.⁷ The tilt of the head, gestures of the outstretched arms and hands grasping castanets, and the posture of the body and legs endow the figure with a fine sense of movement while the curling conical hat and scrolling arabesque produce a closely wrought circular composition admirably suited to the shape of the vessel. Silhouette figures depicted in motion occur on a number of vessels of this type and the rather histrionic gestures suggest that they may have been inspired by characters from the shadow play which is known to have been current in medieval Persia.

Vessels with silhouette decoration under a colourless glaze are comparatively rare, and a dish on a high pedestal foot decorated in this technique is a particularly desirable acquisition as there is no other example in the Museum's collection.⁸ In

the centre a hare is placed against a palmette scroll and around the rim paired split palmettes reserved in black semi-circles give a scalloped effect: between the rim and centre design is a row of black disks with small white centres. This finely drawn and energetic design is typical of the Seljuk decorative style. These last two bowls can be dated to the second half of the twelfth century since it is unlikely that this technique could long survive once the far more flexible technique of true underglaze painting was discovered towards the end of the century.

R. H. PINDER-WILSON

¹ All were exhibited in the exhibition of Early Islamic Wares held by the Oriental Ceramic Society in 1950.

² O.C.S. Exhibition Catalogue, no. 7.

³ O.C.S., no. 9 (with illustration).

⁴ O.C.S., no. 17 (with illustration).

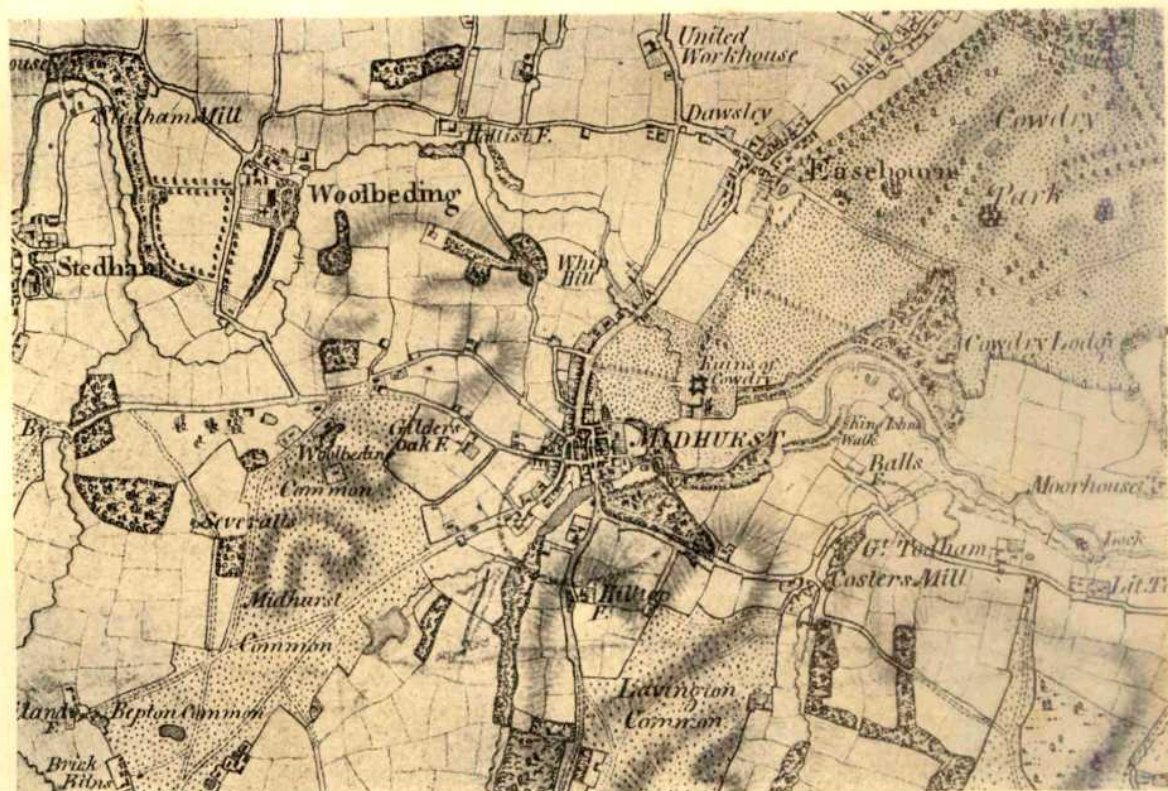
⁵ Vide *Bulletin of Metropolitan Museum of Art*, xxxvii (1942), fig. 9, p. 89. Attention has been drawn to the connexion between this type of palmette and that which appears in a manuscript of the Qur'an written in Baghdad, 1000-1, and now preserved in the Chester Beatty Library,

Dublin. The common feature is the lower petals with outward curling ends (v. D. S. Rice, *The Unique Ibn al-Bawwāb Manuscript*, Oxford, 1955, pls. vi a, ix p, u, and the review of this book by Jean David-Weill in *Arts asiatiques*, iii (1956), pp. 76-77).

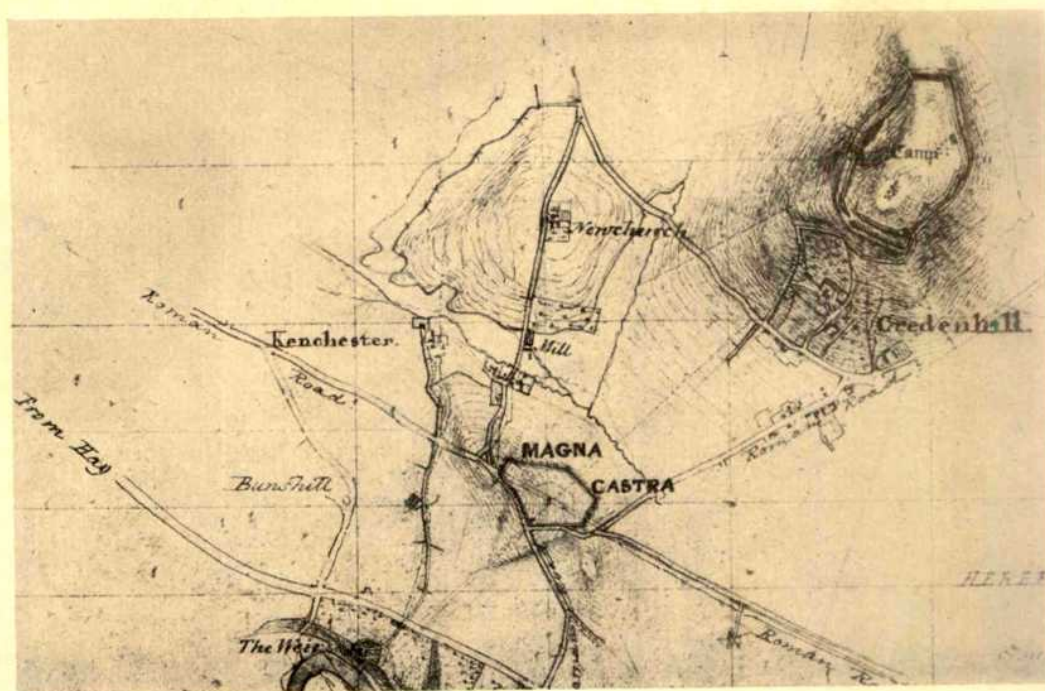
⁶ O.C.S., no. 31.

⁷ O.C.S., no. 73. *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 750A; A. Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery* (London, 1947), pl. 49A; *Bulletin of American Institute for Persian Art*, no. 6 (New York, June 1934), fig. 2, p. 10.

⁸ O.C.S., no. 46; Lane, op. cit., pl. 48.



a



b

XIX. THE ORDNANCE SURVEY 1791-1825

- a. Ordnance Survey, two-inch drawing, No. 84 (detail). Midhurst, Sussex, surveyed 1808-9
 b. Ordnance Survey, two-inch revision sheet of the Hereford area drawn by Henry McLaughlan, 1829 (detail): showing the Iron Age camp at Credenhill, the Roman town of Magnis (Kenchester), and Roman roads west of Hereford

recondunt etc. ut cum regis pot
 tas quam ipse uniuersalis legi
 subiacere sit subditi. **II**




eruntque ualuitas et uocatum.
 et quo his firmitate glorie
 feruntur uolue puerorum
 impetissimus. Et laus gloriois
 rantes. rantes moestas siml
 nob r. subiens lege. Et sub an
 tati cultum pferat a fac
 cedentium regum nouitas af

Libellum pedum eius qui tan
 tota populi iactura in sacrochy
 eius. **L**ibellum dñm ipe
 eruditus est in volumina
 in his locutur ad eos. **L**ibelli
 dñm. **L**ibellum eius. **L**ibelli
 quod tota illa. **O**ne est nrm
 eruditus est in propriis
 fustis eius. **L**ibellum in omni ad
 multum eius. **L**ibellum
 dñm. **L**ibelli dñm. **L**ibelli
 et eos. **L**ibellum dñm. **L**ibelli
Libellum est omni.

seruare dno in leticia. ¶ Intro
ito in aspectu ei in conuerſe
latere qui dnt ut e e ipſe
tece nō dnt qm nō. Dopoſo
sue e nōt pſeue ei interire
pōtū in deſeſione am eū
pūit conuerſum illi. ¶ In
dix uōt eū qm ſumit e
dnt metū nūa ei e nō inge

[illegible]

[Faint handwritten notes, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.]

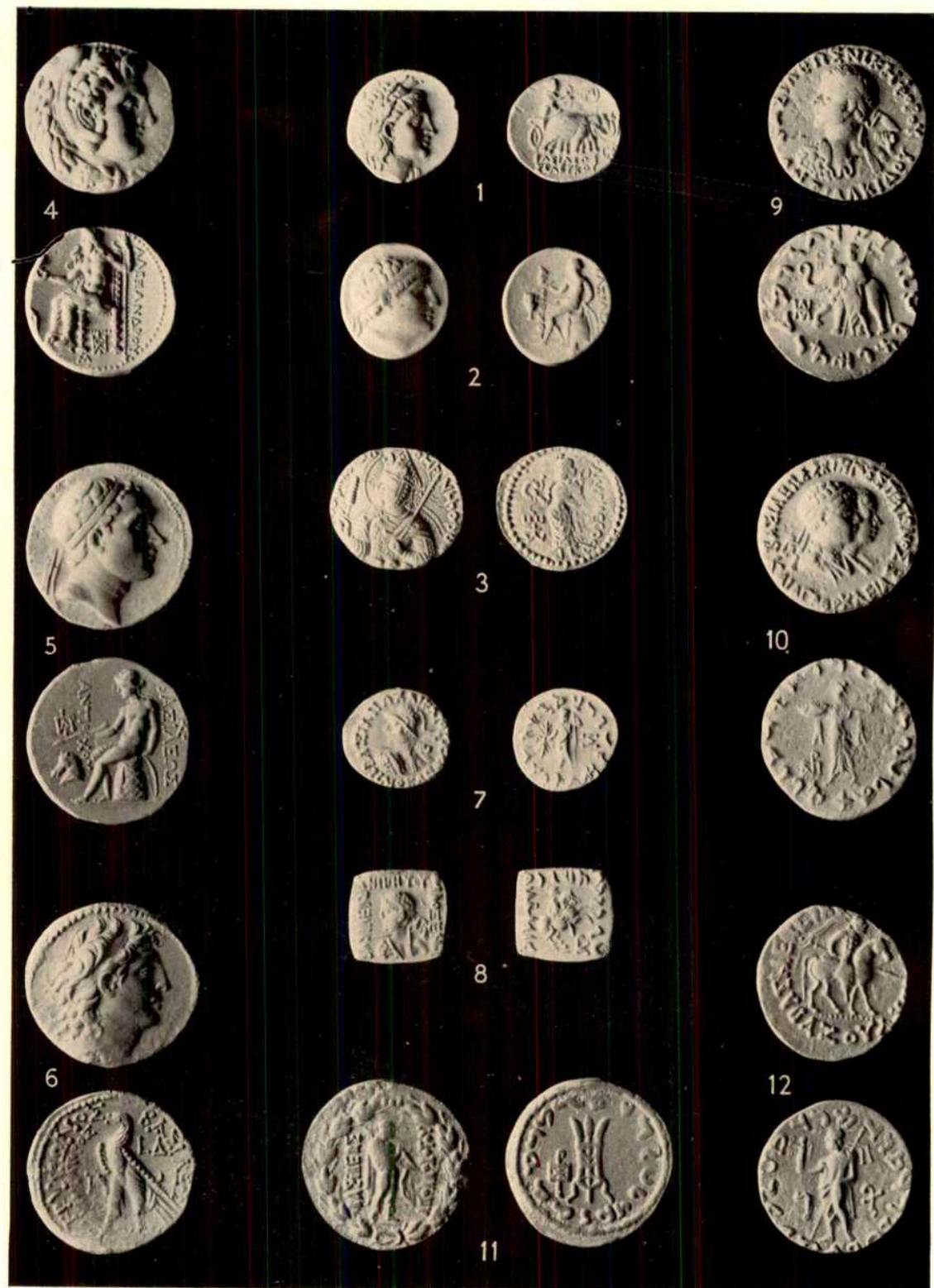
pium: celauantem a me:
 maligni non cognoscunt.
Detractantem seruo p^{ro}pe
 suo: hunc persequitur. Super
 odio et intractabili corde: cui her
 non cedunt. Ohi mei ad a
 delas tre: ut seruant membra
 bulant in ira. mirabilis
 in numeris: et in uoluntate
 atque in medio domus tue: et
 fuit superuam quodur: mihi
 no duxit in conspectu tuo.
 meo. I u martius iusticia
 statua de p^{ro}des tre: ut digne
 deo et ciuitati dei et opant
 mouerent.

Dico. **Q**uod dicitur in
exonem meo
et dante nro ad
re ueniam. **Q**uoniam autem fere
tutum a me. in quatuor die
tribus indiana ad me aut
tuam. **I**n quatuor die in
uoluntate re ueniam. **Q**uoniam me
Quia defecit. **Q**uoniam fuit
dicit me. **Q**uoniam mea fuit
am a ueniam. **Q**uoniam fuit
ut fuit. **Q**uoniam fuit
q. **Q**uoniam fuit
uam. **Q**uoniam fuit

XX. *a.* MANUSCRIPT OF VISIGOTHIC LAWS, early 13th cent.
(formerly Holkham MS. 212)
b. CLUNIAC BREVIARY-MISSAL, probably from Wenlock Priory,
about 1300 (formerly Holkham MS. 39)



XXI. W. S. GILBERT'S ILLUSTRATIONS FOR THE 'BAB BALLADS'



XXII. COINS FROM THE HAUGHTON COLLECTION



XXIV. ETRUSCAN IVORY BAND

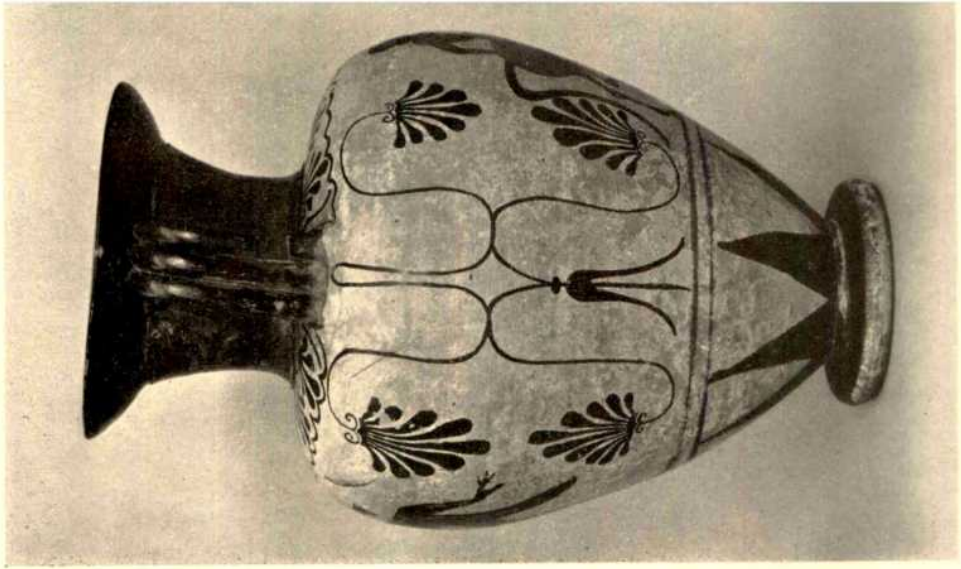


a



b

XXV. ETRUSCAN NECK-AMPHORA



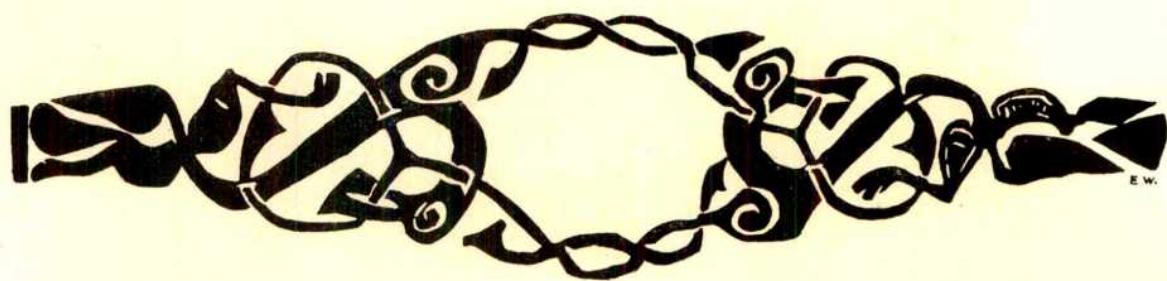
c



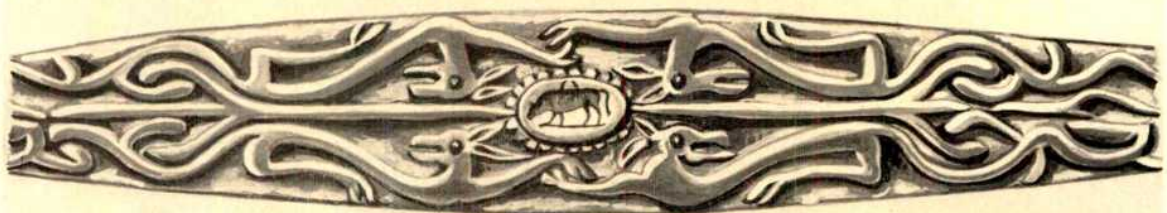
a



b



c



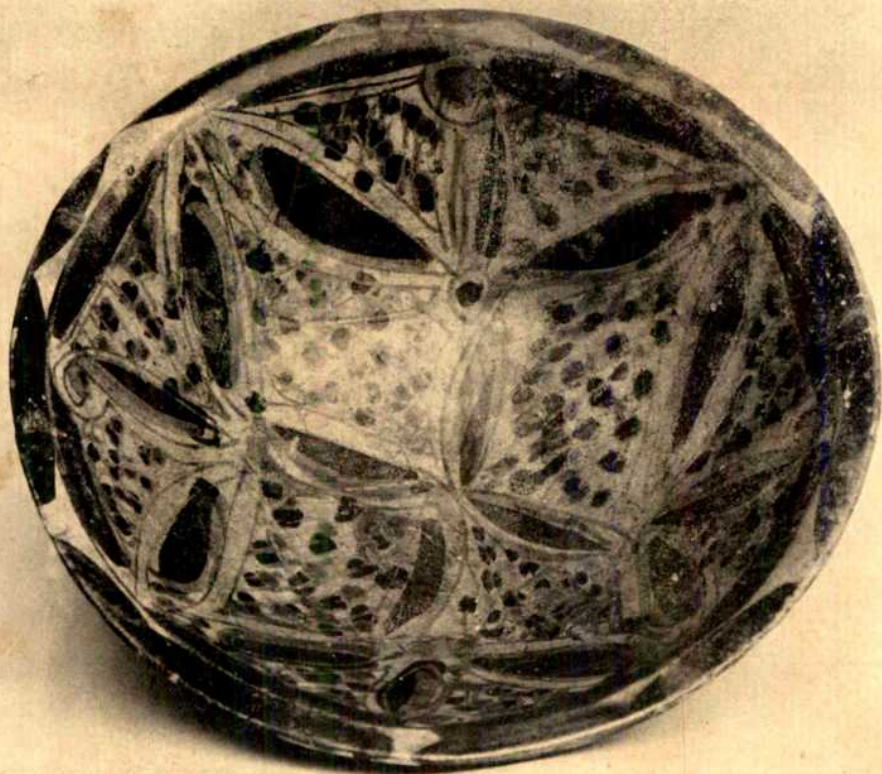
d

XXVI. CAROLINGIAN FINGER-RING

- a, b.* A newly acquired Carolingian finger-ring
- c.* Extended drawing of the animal ornament (2/1)
- d.* Finger-ring, Franks Bequest—extended drawing (2/1)



XXVII. BOWCOCK BOWL
a. Inside of the Bowcock bowl
b. Exterior and base of the Bowcock bowl



a



b

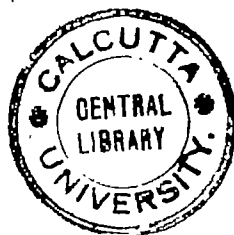
• XXVIII. RECENT GIFT OF ISLAMIC POTTERY

- a.* Bowl painted in lustre, Mesopotamia: first half of 9th century A.D. Diameter: $7\frac{7}{8}$ in.
b. Reverse of bowl

BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY
VOLUME XXI. NUMBER 4. OCTOBER 1959



THE BRITISH MUSEUM
QUARTERLY VOL. XXI. NO. 4



PUBLISHED BY
THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON

1959

The cover illustration is a woodcut of an angler taken from the *Book of St. Albans*, Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster, 1496.

Binding cases designed to hold one volume of the Quarterly (4 parts) are now available from the British Museum, price 2s. 3d. each (post free). It is regretted that the Museum cannot undertake the work of binding the parts into these cases.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

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TWO EDITIONS OF PELBARTUS DE TEMESVÁR

IN October 1956 the Museum bought two printed works by the Hungarian Franciscan Pelbartus de Temesvár (c. 1430/40–1504). These are *Pomerium de Sanctis* and *Sermones de Tempore*. Since the two books are bound together in sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century blind-tooled white pigskin, and since the second work bears a colophon showing that it was printed at Lyons by Jacobus Sacon on 8 August 1509 for the Nuremberg publisher Anton Koberger, all previous owners seem to have been deceived into thinking that the volume comprised one book instead of two. At first glance the types of the two books look alike, but it is soon seen that while the second contains many woodcut initials, the first has none. In fact the *Pomerium de Sanctis*, which is undated and unsigned, has on more than one occasion found its way into incunable catalogues. I have, however, shown elsewhere that it was printed by Johann Otmar at Augsburg not before 1502, and probably not after 1504.¹

The *Pomerium de Sanctis* has on its title-page a remarkable woodcut, c. 178 by 118 mm., showing Pelbartus studying in a garden, with roundels containing the symbols of the Evangelists at its four corners. The same roundels also appear with a woodcut of the Virgin in Glory in an edition of the same author's *Stellarium Corone benedictæ Mariæ Virginis*, signed by Otmar at Augsburg in 1502, which is already in the Museum (press-mark 3837. e. 18). These cuts are in pure white line on black, and A. M. Hind has remarked that they are the earliest examples known to him of this particular process.² (Pl. xxix.)

On the title-page of the *Pomerium de Sanctis* are several scarcely legible notes of ownership which I read tentatively as follows: Ex libris Alexandri Ioann. Iacobi Renij parocchi in Haimbhausen; Antonii Staass presbiteri; and Ioannis Rezer parochi in hohenzel. If the readings are correct, they refer most probably to Haimhausen, near Dachau (Munich district) and Hohenzel, near Aichach (Augsburg district). Below the last name is written, I believe in Ioannes Rezer's hand: Lugduni: Anno Dñi 1509. This shows that he owned the books after they had been bound together. It seems probable that all these signatures are of the seventeenth century.

The Lyons edition of *Sermones Pomerii de Tempore Hyemales et Estiuales* is only part of a larger collection of Pelbartus' works, as its signatures show. Panzer records that Sacon completed at Lyons, also on 8 August 1509, an edition of the *Sermones quadragesimales*, and it may well be that this edition (not in the Museum) has signatures complementary to those in the *Sermones de Tempore*. This particular copy begins with a table occupying seven leaves (there may be a blank first leaf missing), and this first quire is followed by a title-page reading: Sermones Pomerii de Tempore Hyemales et Estiuales. Joannes Rezer has



written his name in pencil on this title-page too, calling himself this time a curate. The second book has another manuscript note of ownership which reads: Sum ex libris Caspari Zollneri Pastoris R[] (illegible). 1608.

It seems therefore that the two books were bound together in southern Germany after 1608, for if Zollner had owned both he would surely not have written his name in the second one only. The volume at one time belonged to the Royal Library at Munich, for on a fly-leaf it has the note 'Duplum Bibliothecae regiae Monacensis' in an eighteenth-century hand. Finally, on the inside of the front cover is the book-plate of C. W. Dyson Perrins. The press-mark is C. 125. f. 2.

D. E. RHODES

¹ D. E. Rhodes, 'An Unidentified "Incunable" printed at Augsburg not before 1502', *The Library*, March 1958, pp. 54-56.

² A. M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, vol. i, London, 1935, p. 196. See also Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German*

and Flemish Woodcuts preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, vol. ii, London, 1911, p. 202, where it is reported that the woodcut of Pelbartus studying in a garden has been attributed by one German authority to Daniel Hopfer von Kaufbeuren.

WILLIAM BLAKE'S NOTEBOOK

IN 1928 Mrs. Frances White Emerson of Cambridge, Massachusetts, presented to the Museum a collection of over 500 water-colour designs made by William Blake to illustrate Young's *Night Thoughts* (1797); now, in the bicentenary year of Blake's birth the same donor has added to her previous act of generosity yet another, no less munificent, by giving the small quarto manuscript of Blake's writings and sketches usually designated now simply as 'William Blake's Notebook' but better known to Blake students in the past (such as Gilchrist, for example) as 'The Rossetti Manuscript'. This title it derives from its ownership during the last thirty-five years of his life by the poet and painter, Dante Gabriel Rossetti. How it came into his possession is recorded in a memorandum in his autograph on the fly-leaf: it runs as follows:

I purchased this original M.S. of Palmer, an attendant in the Antique Gallery at the British Museum, on the 30th April, 1847. Palmer knew Blake personally, and it was from the artist's wife that he had the present M.S. which he sold me for 10s. Among the sketches there are one or two profiles of Blake himself. D.G.C.R.

From this it seems clear that after Blake's death in 1827 the notebook remained with Blake's other possessions in the hands of his widow. The Palmer referred to in Rossetti's note was William Palmer, a brother of Blake's friend, Samuel Palmer, the famous artist, who all his life spoke warmly and generously of Blake and contributed moving personal impressions of him to Gilchrist for his *Life*; William Palmer entered the service of the Trustees in 1837 (according to

documents in the Museum's archives). From the date of its acquisition by Rossetti in 1847 its history is fully documented.

At Rossetti's death in 1882 it was lot 487 in the auction of his library at his house at 16 Cheyne Walk. It then realized £110 and went apparently to F. S. Ellis, the book-collector, remaining in his possession until 1885 when it was sold on 18 November with the rest of his library at Sotheby's; in this sale it was lot 608 and went for only £85, the purchasers being Ellis and Scrutton. In the following year (1886) it crossed the Atlantic to Dodd, Mead & Co., the New York dealers, from whom it was acquired on 26 January 1887 by William Augustus White, of Brooklyn, a collector who formed an important library of early English printed books which included also some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscripts (among them one of Sidney's 'Arcadia').¹ On White's death in 1928 the manuscript went to his daughter, Mrs. Frances White Emerson; as some indication of the generosity of her gift it may be noted that in the year of her father's death the manuscript was valued for probate at \$40,000.² It now takes its place in the Department of Manuscripts with other notable autograph manuscripts of Blake such as that of 'The Four Zoas' (or 'Vala') which was completed in 1797 but recast later at Felpham (Add. MS. 39764) and that of 'Tiriel', the first of Blake's prophetic books written about 1788 and 1789 (Egerton MS. 2876); the notebook has been given the press-mark Add. MS. 49460.

Since Rossetti's time the manuscript has been well known and frequently used. It was lent to Gilchrist in 1861 and was used by Rossetti himself for the selection of Blake's poems which he published in 1863 as the second volume of Gilchrist's *Life*. Swinburne consulted it for his famous *Critical Essay* of 1868 and in 1874 Rossetti's brother Michael; and all subsequent editors of Blake's poems (E. J. Ellis and W. B. Yeats in 1893, John Sampson in 1905, and Sir Geoffrey Keynes in 1925) took advantage of the texts it supplied. Finally, a facsimile edition of it was published by the Nonesuch Press in 1935 under the editorship of Sir Geoffrey Keynes.

For William Blake the volume must have had a very particular sentimental appeal, because it seems (from Sir Geoffrey Keynes's researches) to have begun its long life as the sketch-book of his favourite brother Robert, whose death in 1787 affected Blake so deeply, and what are almost certainly Robert's sketches may be seen on some of the early pages (5, 7, 9, 11). Blake continued to use it as a sketch-book until about 1793; amongst these sketches may be noted designs for decorations for 'Songs of Experience' and 'The Marriage of Heaven and Hell' and for 'emblems', seventeen of which were used for 'The Gates of Paradise' published that year. There are also drawings of a personal interest; two profiles of Blake himself (on pp. 66, 67) and the head of his wife (on p. 82 reversed), and, in addition, a sketch that has been interpreted as a domestic scene from the life of Blake and his wife (on p. 4).

Then, about 1793, he reversed the volume and used it for drafts of poems, for example, of the 'Songs of Experience', and these are for students of his poetry the most interesting part of the volume (Pl. xxx), including as it does the drafts of 'My Pretty Rose-Tree' (p. 115), 'A Poison Tree' (p. 114), 'Holy Thursday' (p. 103), 'The Chimney Sweeper' (1st verse on p. 106, 2nd and 3rd verses on p. 103), and two drafts of 'The Tyger' (pp. 109-108), which enable us to watch the actual composition of this famous poem.

At intervals during the next few decades further additions were made to the book. First, during the period of his stay at Hayley's invitation at Felpham in Sussex, 1800-3; then, after an interval, memoranda were added in 1807, among which is this note, entirely characteristic of Blake, illustrative alike of his simple sincerity and spontaneity: 'Tuesday, Jan^{ry} 20, 1807, between Two & Seven in the Evening—Despair.' (Two other notes of a similar kind are preserved in the notebook; three years later he was to write: '23 May, 1810, found the Word Golden', while on page 10 over the date June 1793 he wrote: 'I say I shan't live five years, And if I live one it will be a Wonder'—Blake died in 1827.) From about 1808 to 1811, a grim period in Blake's life, it was used very largely for doggerel and for epigrams written to relieve his feelings against such people as his former patron Hayley; the publisher, Cromek; Stothard; and others. The following example is addressed to Hayley (p. 25):

You think Fuseli is not a Great Painter. I'm glad:
This is one of the best compliments he ever had.

And here is one to Cromek (p. 29):

A pretty Sneaking Knave I knew—
O Mr. Cr[omek], how do ye do?

This same chronological section, however, contains also the drafts of the prospectus for his engraving of Chaucer's *Canterbury Pilgrims* (written in 1809) and of his 'Public Address' written in the following year on the same subject.

After this the book seems to have been put aside until 1818 when the blank spaces still here and there available were used for his philosophical poem, 'The Everlasting Gospel'. With these last passages the book was full and not further used. This brief survey will suffice to give some idea of the variety and wealth of the notebook's contents and to indicate the reasons why it remains one of the central documents for all Blake studies whether of his life and opinions, the development of his thought, his artistic activities, or his poetry. C. E. WRIGHT

¹ This library was catalogued in 1926 by Henrietta C. Bartlett, *Catalogue of Early English Books, chiefly of Elizabethan Period* (New York, privately printed); according to Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and MSS. (1530-1930)*, 1930, p. 176, there was an earlier handlist of 1914.

The Blake notebook is not referred to in the Bartlett catalogue.

² Mrs. White Emerson died on 10 March 1957. An article on the manuscript by Sir Geoffrey Keynes appeared in *The Times* of 16 April 1957.

A NEW PATRISTIC MANUSCRIPT

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, Newman's 'peace-loving man of humble heart and true', is in many ways the most attractive of the Cappadocian Fathers. It is difficult not to be moved by the spectacle of the gentle scholar who, conquering his natural timidity, became the leader of the Catholic Christians of Constantinople at the very climax of the Nicene controversy; strenuously upheld the orthodox faith; and then, in the hour of victory, resigned from the see to which he had only recently been raised, and returned to Nazianzus, there to end his days. His reputation has always stood high; to St. Jerome he was 'vir eloquentissimus, praeceptor meus a quo Scripturas explanante didici',¹ while the ecclesiastical historian Socrates considered him to be 'most eloquent, and exceeding all others in piety.'² Among the Greeks, he is Gregory ὁ θεολόγος—the theologian *par excellence*, chiefly on account of the five great theological orations (xxvii–xxxi), delivered in or about A.D. 380 in the little oratory of the Resurrection at Constantinople, where he expounded the Nicene faith (often at considerable physical risk to himself from the violence of the Arians) and refuted the errors of the Eunomians and the Macedonians. He was early known to the Latins through the translation of Rufinus,³ and is today venerated in both East and West as a Doctor of the Church.

The Department of Manuscripts has had the good fortune to acquire (at Sotheby's, 19 December 1955, lot 25), a Greek manuscript of the tenth century (now Add. MS. 49060), containing nineteen of Gregory's orations;⁴ three of his letters;⁵ his poem *πρὸς παρθένους παραινετικός*—'An exhortation to Virgins';⁶ and fragments of the letter of St. Gregory of Nyssa to Evagrius (xxvi, *M.P.G.*, xlvi, 1101), and of the *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten* of St. Gregory the Wonder-worker of Neocaesarea (*M.P.G.*, x, 988). The passage of time and, it is to be feared, deliberate neglect and mutilation, have sadly marred what must have once been a very handsome codex. Two leaves have been lost at the beginning of the volume, depriving us of the first part of Oratio xxix, which begins at § 4. Several leaves were already missing in the later Middle Ages, and have been replaced by others (ff. 45, 80, 81), in a hand not earlier than the fourteenth century. Many more have had their borders cut off, or have been torn. Nevertheless, despite all its scars, the manuscript remains an attractive one.

There is, at the moment, no modern critical edition of the works of St. Gregory, and the best general edition remains that of the Benedictines of St. Maur, published at Paris, 1778–1840, and reprinted in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*. An edition of the five theological orations, made by A. J. Mason in 1899, for the *Cambridge Patristic Texts* series, 'does not profess to offer a complete critical edition', though the editor availed himself of manuscripts in Paris, Munich, Oxford, and Cambridge,⁷ but not of those of the Museum. A modern

edition, promised by the *Corpus Graecorum Scriptorum* is eagerly awaited. In the meantime, this further source has become available to the textual student at Bloomsbury, in addition to the number of tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts already there.

Of more interest to the general reader, perhaps, are the illuminations. The orations are preceded by decorated chapter headings, in which blue, green, and gold predominate, and followed by colophons in red and green, sometimes foliated, and often recording the number of *στίχοι* in the oration. These features are well illustrated by f. 154 (Pl. xxxi), which also shows an example of the third feature of the illuminations—the marginal drawings. These generally occur at the beginning of the oration, and seem usually to be inspired by some feature of the text, as in f. 131 (Pl. xxxii), where Or. xli, *In Pentecosten*, is very properly illustrated by the representation of tongues of fire on the heads of the apostles. Similarly, Or. xlv, *In Sanctum Pascha*, shows the Angel of the Resurrection at the empty tomb, and the grave-clothes lying within (f. 102).

To discuss the date and provenance of these drawings is beyond the scope of this article. They are undoubtedly of a later date than the manuscript itself, and the suggestion has been made that they may have been executed in the Balkans, perhaps in Serbia. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that the thick, and often crude, lines of the drawing of heads, hands, and feet, sometimes have the air of being drawn over a more delicate original, and there seems to be a resemblance between some of the figure drawing in our manuscript, and that in the Menologion of Basil II, the Bulgar-slayer (Vat. MS. Gr. 1613, late tenth to early eleventh century).⁸ Is it possible, then, that the drawings, though later in date, are in the same tradition as the Menologion, and come from Constantinople? Unanimity on this point is unlikely to be found, and the matter awaits the art historian. In the meantime, we may congratulate ourselves on the acquisition of this manuscript, a worthy addition to the other manuscripts of St. Gregory in the Museum.⁹

GERALD BONNER

¹ *de Viris Illustribus*, cxvii.

² *H.E.*, v. 7.

³ *C.S.E.L.*, xlv.

⁴ They are, in the numeration of the Benedictine edition: xxix (mutilated); xxx; xxxi; xxxviii; xxxix; xl; xlv; xlv; xli; xxxiii; xxii; xxxii; xxvi; xxxvi; xliii; iv; v; xxxvii; xiii.

⁵ Epp. ci, cii, ad Cleodonium; ccii, ad Nectarium.

⁶ *M.P.G.*, xxxvii, 632.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. xix, xx–xxii.

⁸ See especially f. 420, reproduced in SP. Lampros, *Λεύκωμα Βυζαντινῶν Αυτοκρατόρων*, Athens, 1930, pl. 46.

⁹ These include Add. MS. 18231, ff. 86b–309 (A.D. 972); Add. MSS. 22732, 36634 (tenth century); Add. MSS. 14771, 24372, 24381, Burney 51 (eleventh century); and Add. MS. 39606 (late eleventh century).

AN OIL-SKETCH BY THOMAS JONES

THE Printroom has acquired an oil-sketch by Thomas Jones (1742-1803) of *Buildings in Naples*,¹ one of a number of similar studies which until lately had remained unknown in the possession of the artist's descendants.² (Pl. xxxiii.) Jones, the younger son of a Welsh country gentleman, left Jesus College, Oxford, without taking his degree, entered the studio of Richard Wilson as a pupil, and spent the years 1776-83 in Italy, chiefly in Rome and Naples. His *Memoirs*, the greater part of which consist of his Italian journal, were recently published by Mr. A. P. Oppé.³ Jones records that on 15 May 1782 he took up residence in a third-floor apartment in the Vicolo del Canale, Naples, 'which fronts the S'a M'a de la Segola, as you ascend to Capo de Monte'. With this went the exclusive use of the *lastricia*, or flat roof, 'from which you Commanded a view over a great part of the City, with the Bay, Mountains of Sorrento and Island of Caproea—on the other side the Rocks, Buildings & Vineyards about Capo de Monte—and where I spent many a happy hour in painting from Nature. . . . It was in this house, I may say, that I spent by far the most agreeable part of my time during my Sojourn in Naples.' The Printroom sketch, inscribed on the back *Naples August 1782 Tj*, may well be one of those made on the *lastricia*.

It is a pity that these oil-studies had not come to light before the publication of the *Memoirs*, since in this medium and on this intimate scale Jones rose to a height impossible to imagine from his large finished paintings, justly described by Farington as 'very cold—like china',⁴ or from the pencil and watercolour drawings in his sketch-books, for which Mr. Oppé, in his introduction to the *Memoirs*, could not bring himself to express any but the most tepid enthusiasm. In its narrow and subtly harmonious range of colour (clear pale-blue sky, grey and greyish-brown buildings, dark green foliage), in the way in which the composition is built up from a few simple—almost geometrical—elements, and in its directness of vision, this sketch at first sight seems to anticipate a 'Corot d'Italie'. The resemblance is, of course, a superficial one, and from the point of view of quality the comparison is absurd; but there is a very close parallel between Jones and another French painter, of his own generation, Pierre-Henri Valenciennes (1750-1819). Though there is no reference to Valenciennes in Jones's diary, they could have met, either in Rome or in Naples,⁵ and the oil-sketches which the Frenchman likewise made for his own instruction and amusement are strikingly like Jones's in technique and spirit.⁶ They, too, had been kept together until the present century, and were unknown until the Louvre acquired them in 1930 as part of the *Donation Croj*; when their freshness, directness, and spontaneity came as a surprise to those who only knew Valenciennes as the author of a theoretical treatise on Perspective and Landscape-Painting, and as the painter of meticulously painted but lifeless 'historical landscapes' which can with equal

justice be described as cold and china-like. His sketches, like Jones's, are empty of figures, and in contrast to most of his contemporaries, who could not help rendering the ruins and monuments of Rome with archaeological or romantic overtones, Valenciennes treats these pictorially, as elements in a composition, with neither more nor less emphasis than the trees and characterless modern buildings surrounding them. In this he anticipates Corot; and since, as Lionello Venturi points out, Michallon, who was Corot's master in Rome, was a pupil of Valenciennes, the latter can in some sense claim the honour of being Corot's 'artistic grandfather'. Jones, too, has his place in the history of the development of landscape-painting, for without going so far as to suggest that he either directly or indirectly influenced Valenciennes—it may well have been common practice in Rome at that period to make sketches of this kind—it is certainly a fact that he was in the habit of making them before he came to Italy: one of his very finest, a view of Pencerrig, in Wales, in Mr. Oppé's collection, is dated 1772.⁸

J. A. GERE

¹ 1954-10-9-12. Oil on paper. 25.5 by 38 cm.

² They appeared in the following sales: Christie's, 2.vii.1954 (212-18); Christie's, 28.vii.1955 (1-6); Sotheby's, 27.vi.1956 (47).

³ In vol. xxxii (1946-8) of the *Walpole Society*.

⁴ Diary, 1 April 1798.

⁵ 'Judging from the albums of his drawings, we may assume that Valenciennes worked in Rome and its environs during 1778 and 1780, and that in 1779 he visited Naples and Sicily. . . . In 1781 he left Italy by way of Florence, Lombardy, the Simplon, Geneva and Lyons.' (Venturi, *op. cit. infr.*, p. 101.) Jones arrived in Rome in 1776, and remained there until September 1778, when he went to Naples. He stayed there until January 1779, was in Rome again until April 1780, then

returned to Naples where he stayed until he left Italy, by sea, in August 1783.

⁶ Nine of them are reproduced by Lionello Venturi in his article on Valenciennes (*Art Quarterly*, iv (1941), pp. 89 ff.). See also *Musée de l'Orangerie: Catalogue de l'exposition des œuvres provenant des donations faites par Madame la Princesse Louise de Croÿ et de Monsieur Louis Devillez*, Paris, 1930/1, nos. 54-139.

⁷ *Elémens de Perspective Pratique, à l'Usage des Artistes, Suivis de Réflexions et Conseils à un Elève sur la Peinture et Particulièrement sur le Genre de Paysage*, Paris, 1799-1800.

⁸ *Exhibition of Works from the Paul Oppé Collection: Royal Academy, Diploma Gallery*, 1958, no. 295.

SOME NEW LIGHT ON THE TREWHIDDLE HOARD

RECENTLY, through the good offices of Mr. C. K. Croft Andrew, F.S.A., the Department of Coins and Medals has been fortunate enough to acquire certain unpublished eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century manuscripts which throw important new light on the great Trehwiddle Hoard of ninth-century coins and ornaments. These manuscripts, presented anonymously in memory of Taylor Combe, the great Anglo-Saxon numismatist who was in charge of the British Museum's coins until his untimely death in 1826,

fall into three main categories. To the first belongs a large quarto vellum-bound notebook into which Jonathan Rashleigh of Menabilly (d. 1905) had unfortunately no more than begun a register of his collection which was eventually dispersed by his son in the sale-room in 1909. On internal evidence this register can be dated to the sixth and seventh decades of the nineteenth century, and the provenances given usefully supplement the rather vague descriptions in contemporary catalogues.

In a second and smaller notebook Jonathan Rashleigh had sketched in the outline of what was obviously intended to be a 'corpus' of all known Anglo-Saxon coins. The entries are only fragmentary, but afford an illuminating insight into the methods and means of approach of a mid-Victorian collector. In this notebook, too, the only part of the material to have been worked up to any extent concerns the Northumbrian series, and this of course reflects Jonathan Rashleigh's preoccupation with the coinage of York, a preoccupation inspired doubtless by his possession by inheritance of the unique silver penny of Eanred (now in the British Museum)¹ and finding expression in an important paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1869. Interesting though these two notebooks undoubtedly are, they do not make the positive contribution to knowledge that is contained in the third group of material.

This category consists of a number of odd slips of paper on which both Philip Rashleigh (d. 1811) and his great-nephew Jonathan Rashleigh had made notes, and of a couple of letters. Most important of all is a list by Philip Rashleigh of the coins in his cabinet in 1768. From this it is clear that he already possessed a penny of Alfred six years before the discovery of the great Trewiddle hoard. In the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1868 Jonathan Rashleigh published what has always been assumed to be the definitive account of the numismatic portion of that hoard, and claimed that the find contained two pennies of Alfred. Recently this statement has been doubted on purely numismatic grounds, as in the light of present knowledge the second penny seems to belong to the last coinage of the reign, and to be in consequence at least twenty years later in date not only than the other Alfred but than any other coin in the hoard. A check on the eighteen pennies of Alfred in the Sale Catalogue of 1909, moreover, has established that all but two were acquired by Jonathan Rashleigh after 1840, and consequently if we suppose that Jonathan Rashleigh is correct in his statement that there were two Alfred pennies in Trewiddle we must infer that a third had been lost. What seems to have happened is that Jonathan Rashleigh, unaware of the chronological implications, assumed that the two coins of Alfred which in 1802 Philip Rashleigh had submitted to Taylor Combe were both from the hoard. It was a very natural error, and it is interesting to see that in 1909 no less an authority than Samuel Spink fell into the same trap when he too assumed—or accepted a tradition—that this 1802 list comprised only coins found 'near St.

Austell'.² In his case, however, the error is obvious as he includes much later coins of sovereigns whom Jonathan Rashleigh well knew could not possibly have been represented in the 1774 hoard. Further confirmation of the validity of this line of argument comes from a second list in Philip Rashleigh's handwriting which gives a summary by reigns of the Trewiddle Hoard. Alfred does not figure at all, and one might even argue that in fact there was no coin of his in the find. This list, however, is demonstrably incomplete, and, since the date of the earlier of the two Alfred coins listed by Jonathan Rashleigh is perfectly consistent with that of the rest of the coins, it would perhaps be unwise to dispute the Trewiddle provenance attached to it. A number of coins from the original find were dispersed locally, and the Philip Rashleigh list, which is not dated, may well have been drawn up before he had succeeded in rounding up all those that eventually formed part of his cabinet.³

This early dispersal of much of the hoard emerges very clearly from another list jotted down on the back of a page torn from a notebook. A number of obverse legends are noted, and a list given of those of Rashleigh's neighbours who had acquired coins. The writing on the reverse had been deliberately obliterated, but enough has survived to establish that it was a notebook in which Dr. Rashleigh was accustomed to note prescriptions and details of certain substantial payments drawn on Child's Bank.⁴ On yet another sheet of paper there are recorded in detail the twelve coins that were in the possession of the Reverend Hennah.

If it is a little disappointing that the archaeologist and numismatist can no longer rely absolutely on the 1868 account of the hoard, it is at least fortunate that this new evidence should have come to light before the imminent republication of the hoard, the bulk of which has since found its way to the National Collection. No less satisfactory is the fact that the coin-evidence now points so very clearly to the hoard having been concealed early in Alfred's reign, and the find is seen to belong to a well-defined group the deposit of which is to be explained by the onslaught of the Great Army in 870-4. The new manuscript evidence, too, is the more welcome in that it establishes once and for all that the famous silver penny of Eanred, perhaps the most important single acquisition by the Museum at the 1955 Lockett Sale, did form part of the hoard in question.

Among the other papers from Menabilly is a letter from Taylor Combe to Philip Rashleigh concerning coins which the latter had loaned to him in 1802 so that drawings could be made for inclusion in the unpublished 'corpus' which today survives only in Bryer's transcript in the Library of the British Numismatic Society,⁵ and in the printed plates bound up with Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*. The letter contains an interesting description of the circumstances under which the drawings were made, and we have a glimpse of the great Hunter Collection before its transfer to Glasgow. It is accompanied by a list of the coins sent to London by Rashleigh with a note of the Ruding plate number, and it

is this list which underlies the mythical 'second St. Austell hoard' of the Rashleigh Sale Catalogue.⁶ Another letter which is of significance in the context of the National Collection is one from the Andover collector Samuel Shaw on the subject of his penny of Beorhtric found locally. This letter dated September 1854 gives details concerning the find which do not appear in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1855, and of special importance is the statement that no other coins were found. When the coin was purchased for the British Museum by the Pilgrim Trust in 1955, it was remarked that this provenance was relevant to the oft-debated problem of whether the coins of Beorhtric should be given to a king of Wessex or of East Anglia, and a single find is for this purpose often more satisfactory than a hoard. The provenance of the second specimen in the British Museum was tantalisingly ambiguous, namely 'the Thames at Sunbury', but since then there has come to light a manuscript note of Taylor Combe's that the third coin, that in the Hunter Collection, had been found 'near Guildford'. On this evidence we are surely justified in assigning the coins in question to Beorhtric of Wessex (d. 802), the more so because the king is known to history from documentary sources.⁷

The bulk of the remaining manuscripts from Menabilly consists of a number of Jonathan Rashleigh's notes from the period when he was composing his paper on the coinage of Northumbria. In the light of our present knowledge they seem to furnish comparatively little that is new, but this paper should have shown that one generation is not always very happy in its estimate of what may be critical for the researches of the next. It is hoped, too, that these few lines may suggest the importance of saving from destruction every single scrap of documentary material relating to the great collections of the past, and the writer is glad of an opportunity of recording the gratitude of more than one Anglo-Saxon numismatist to Mr. Croft Andrew who has saved from destruction and ensured the preservation of a part of the Rashleigh archives of cardinal significance for the student of the coinage of the ninth century.

R. H. M. DOLLEY

¹ Cf. *B.M.Q.* xx, p. 80.

² *Sotheby Sale*, 21-28.vi.1909; lots 194, 247, 248, 258, 266, 269, 276, and 278.

³ It should also be remembered that a coin of Alfred's first type would be indistinguishable, its obverse legend excepted, from the coins of Burgred and of Æthelræd I which formed the bulk of the hoard. Moreover coins of this type read +ÆLBRED which could well be confused with +ÆDLRED, the more easily so because we know from Philip Rashleigh's original account that the coins when found were thickly coated with a cupreous deposit.

⁴ One of these prescriptions may be quoted in

full:

'Peruvian Bark in Powder	2 oz.
Peil of Civil Orange	1 & ½ oz.
Virginia Snake Root	3 Dra.
Saffron	4 Scrup.
Cochineal	2 Scrup.
Brandy	three half pints

in which the above Drugs are to be infused in a Close Vessel for 3 or 4 days the Liquor is after to be Strained & kept for use.

⁵ Cf. *B.M.Q.* xix, p. 76.

⁶ *Supra*, p. 95, cf. *N.C.*, 1955, p. 8.

⁷ e.g. *ASC*, s.a. 784[786].

A GROUP OF ROMAN STUCCO RELIEFS

THE Victoria and Albert Museum has recently lent to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities a group of fragments of stucco decoration with figures in relief.¹ When they were bought in 1870 the fragments, together with a Roman architectural terracotta of 'Campana' type, were said to be 'from a Greek tomb of the second century B.C. lately discovered in South Italy'. No further direct information is available about them.

There are eighteen fragments in all. Eight are curved panels, or fragments of panels, decorated with figures and framed by enriched mouldings: ten are flat slabs with single figures and without an architectural frame. The former are panels taken from the coffering of a concrete barrel vault, the latter are sections cut out from flat wall surfaces together with some of the brickwork behind. After cutting down, all the reliefs were consolidated in cement and minor restorations to the figures carried out in lime plaster.

The subjects represent the standard repertoire of the Roman interior decorator in the first two centuries A.D.² A group of three flat slabs show flying putti in various poses and may have been parts of a continuous frieze. Another group of three panels with putti riding monsters are from the same ceiling. Two slabs with animal protomai on a red background are obviously counterparts in some decorative scheme. The largest of the ceiling panels depicts a scene from classical mythology (Pl. xxxiv). Other figures include a reclining goddess and a delicately modelled flying Victory.

It is very unlikely that all the fragments derive from the same building. There are obvious differences in the composition of the stucco and in the style and quality of the figure subjects. The stucco of the mythological panel contains a good proportion of marble chippings and is tinted, probably by the addition of an iron oxide earth, whereas the stucco of the group of slabs depicting putti beneath swags is of a much finer texture. On two other slabs the stucco is of the colour and texture of cement. In style and quality of execution it is hard to compare, say, the mythological scene with the flying Victory. It is therefore probable that the reliefs come from three or four different buildings and it is likely that these buildings were tombs. In the nineteenth century the looting of ancient tombs to satisfy the market demand for 'grotesques' must have been a very common practice. When tombs in the Necropolis at Pozzuoli were opened in 1925³ it was found that several decorated panels had already been removed from the stucco decoration. Our group of fragments may well have been collected from a similar source and sold as a group to make them more attractive on the antique market.

The details of the technique employed in preparing the stucco reliefs are interesting. In the fragments of vault decoration, for example, in the mytho-

logical scene, there are three layers—the concrete of the vault, a layer of cement rendering nearly half an inch thick, and finally the stucco coat approximately three-eighths of an inch thick at the moulded edges but considerably less overall. The first process after the general application of a coat of stucco was the modelling of the profiles of the frame in wet stucco, the enrichments being applied with a stamp. While the stucco was still damp the outlines of the figures were engraved on the surface, stucco was then applied to cover these sketches and modelled while still wet. Some few details, such as the ends of flying drapery were simply engraved on the background. In three of the slabs this background is coloured, and it is clear that the colour was applied before the figures were modelled.⁴

Isolated fragments of stucco ornament out of their architectural context are difficult to date with precision because subjects and style show little development throughout a long period. But the good quality of much of the stucco and the presence of a high proportion of marble chippings indicate an early date. The leaf-ornament framing two of the coffer panels has parallels in architectural decoration and in stucco work which argue for a date about A.D. 50–60. The griffin on one of the slabs, whose tail dissolves into formal scrolls, reminds one of the griffins on the Farnesina stuccoes,⁵ or those of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore in Rome.⁶ In a tomb at Pozzuoli which seems to date to about the middle of the first century A.D. there are depicted garlands very similar to those on the putto reliefs⁷ and the putti themselves recall the putti who appear in the reliefs decorating the apodyterium of the Stabian Baths at Pompeii—dating perhaps between A.D. 60 and 70.⁸ The two reliefs depicting protomai emerging from leafy whorls look as though they might be later, but the majority of the pieces must date to the mid or later first century A.D.

The mythological scene on one of the coffer panels is illustrated here (Pl. xxxiv). On the right a nude female figure is precariously seated on a rocky ledge, her hands bound behind her back. Below her a fish-tailed monster rears his head. On the left is a stocky male figure in a pose which suggests that he is drawing away from the sudden sight of the monster—quite quickly to judge from the flying drapery on his left arm.⁹ He wears high boots and there appears to be a cap on his head. The scene must be Perseus and Andromeda though there never was a more unheroic Perseus nor one more badly dressed. From ancient pictures we know two moments of the episode; in the one the hero is engaged in violent combat with the monster,¹⁰ in the other he is handing down the rescued Andromeda.¹¹ In this scene it seems that he has just spotted the monster and on the most charitable view is drawing back 'pour mieux sauter'. The attitude and proportions of Perseus are both singularly unheroic and make it hard to interpret the relief as a serious version of the episode; it may, in fact, have been inspired by

some theatrical parody of the adventure such as we know to have existed in ancient times.¹²

The stuccoes are a worthwhile addition to the Museum's Roman collection. They do not compare in quality with the best stucco work of the Roman period, but illustrate well the technique and style of this type of interior decoration at its ordinary artisan level during the first and second centuries A.D.

D. E. STRONG

¹ Registration no. 1956. 12-4. 1-18.

² See, for example, E. H. Wadsworth in *M.A.A.R.* iv (1924), pp. 9-103.

³ *Not. Scavi*, 1927, pp. 325 f., fig. 12 (p. 331).

⁴ The processes are described by Wadsworth, *art. cit.*, pp. 16-22.

⁵ R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano*, Rome, 1932, p. 185 (no. 491).

⁶ J. Carcopino, *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure*, Paris, 1943, pl. xix.

⁷ Information from Mr. F. Fakharani; the tomb is unpublished.

⁸ V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei*, Milan, 1928, pl. 172. Spinazzola, pl. 173, illustrates a fragment in the Naples Museum with a

putto and swag very similar to ours. The source is not stated.

⁹ The drapery is engraved on his arm; the flying ends were apparently in relief, but the stucco has disappeared leaving only its 'ghost'.

¹⁰ J. M. Woodward, *Perseus*, Cambridge, 1937, pl. 9a (a black-figured amphora).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pls. 32 (a Pompeian wall-painting) and 33 (a neo-Attic relief), both probably inspired by a painting by Nicias.

¹² For such a parody in fifth-century Athens cf. the scene on a red-figured oinochoe in the Vlasto collection (*J.H.S.* lv (1945), p. 40, pl. 5) and, of course, the episode in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusa*.

A LUCANIAN THEATRE VASE

THE British Museum has recently acquired the Lucanian squat lekythos illustrated in Pl. xxxv, and I am very grateful to the Keeper of the Greek and Roman Department for inviting me to contribute these notes on it.¹ Shape, decoration of neck and bottom of the body, and palmettes at the back are very like Vatican U 32² by the Primato painter, the chief Lucanian artist of the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., and Professor A. D. Trendall attributes our vase also to him, comparing particularly Louvre F. 351.

The vase is decorated with a tragic mask above a stage, and on the left is a pilaster; on the right a laurel grows under a suspended *tainia*. Theatre scenes are common on the contemporary vases of Apulia, Paestum, Campania, and Sicily, but are unknown so far on Lucanian vases, although the mythological scenes of Lucanian vases are often inspired by Greek tragedy, particularly the work of the Choephoroi painter.³ The stage is represented as a plank laid across crossbeams. It shows that the actors of tragedy in Lucania stood on a low stage. It has been assumed that such a low stage existed in the Athenian theatre to give superior visibility and audibility to the actors without destroying easy communication

between them and the chorus. This clearly shown Lucanian stage confirms that the long step on which the actors of the Apulian Hypsipyle vase⁴ stand is a stage.

The mask is the mask of a young woman with long hair; she wears earrings and has three rays rising above her forehead. Very similar masks are known in Attica from the early fifth century onwards: for instance, the frontal maenad on a red figure vase of 475/50, the mask (Hesione?) held by the woman seated on the end of Dionysos' couch on the Pronomos vase of 400/390, and a marble mask of about 340 in the small Acropolis museum.⁵ In Hellenistic times this mask has a high tower of hair over the forehead (known as *onkos*): in this form it is worn by the personified Tragedy of the Archelaos relief, which was carved in the late third or early second century B.C.⁶ Our vase gives welcome confirmation that the *onkos* had *not* been introduced by the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. It seems to me likely that this change by which the characters of tragedy became both more stately and more archaic in appearance was made when the theatre at Athens was rebuilt under Lycurgus and when literary criticism became historical with Aristotle.

The third element of decoration is a square pillar seen in perspective with an extension at the bottom, which may be a step. It is difficult to see the meaning of this. The stage building would be likely to have columns rather than pilasters. The central door would surely be shown with its threshold pointing inwards rather than outwards, and one would expect some indication of the leaves of the door and of the pediment above it. A pilaster at the entrance to the *parodos* (as at Epidauros) would have no step. A possible explanation seems to me that the painter is thinking of a particular play. His contemporary,⁷ the Choephoroi painter, painted the meeting of Orestes and Electra at the tomb of Agamemnon at least seven times, and he owes his name to this scene. Of the three Electra plays known to us, only the Aeschylean *Choephoroi* places the meeting at the tomb of Agamemnon. In the Choephoroi painter's pictures Electra has long dark hair like the mask on our vase, and the tomb of Agamemnon is represented as either a column or a square pillar surmounting two to five steps. In the theatre the pillar may have been erected by the altar in the centre of the *orchestra*, but other arrangements are possible. However that may be, I think the pillar and step on our vase may be the tomb of Agamemnon, and then the mask is the mask of Electra, and the laurel on the right is an allusion to Apollo and his oracle. The rays above the forehead of the mask are compatible with this interpretation, because a similar wreath with rays is worn by a woman visiting a tomb on a hydria in the Vatican (U 39) by the same painter. And the *tainia* above the laurel will be used to adorn the tomb.

T. B. L. WEBSTER

¹ Registration number 1958 2-14 1. Height, 19.2 cm. Maximum diameter, 13 cm. The mouth is missing; small pieces of the body have

been restored in plaster. Traces of preliminary sketch in the hair. Relief contour only for the right side of the face. White for the stem and

berries of the laurel, the rays above the forehead, and the earrings, which have the form of a fat T with three pendants. The glaze varies in colour from dark brown to grey; it does not cover very well, so that streaks of clay show through.

² *Vasi dipinti del Vaticano*, i, pl. 6.

³ Cf. A. D. Trendall, *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, 2, 114 f.

⁴ See my *Greek Theatre Production*, 104;

Pickard-Cambridge, *Theatre of Dionysos*, fig. 20. Cf. also the Campanian Iphigenia in Tauris, *ibid.*, fig. 58; *Greek Theatre Production*, 104 f.

⁵ References are given in *Greek Theatre Production*, 174 f., A 6, 9, 18. Add for the maenad, J. D. Beazley, *Hesperia*, xxiv (1955), p. 312.

⁶ British Museum 2191. The dating I owe to Mr. R. Higgins.

⁷ Cf. above, note 3.

A RARE SCULPTURE FROM THE ANDHRADEŚA

THE Museum's collection of Indian sculpture from the Andhradeśa is the most important outside India. It includes a fair proportion of the sculptured slabs from the Great Stūpa at Amarāvati, constructed during the second and first half of the third century A.D. under the Sātavāhana dynasty, and an important but much later group of reliefs,¹ again from Amarāvati, of the period of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty (seventh to tenth centuries A.D.). Though major work on the Great Stūpa seems to have come to an end about A.D. 250, the Amarāvati style continued to develop in to the fourth century A.D. at Nāgārjunikonda and Goli—to name the two sites best known and most extensively excavated. The Museum has hitherto possessed no example of this last phase of creative activity in the early Andhradeśa. This deficiency is made good by a piece recently acquired. It is, moreover, of a unique type and of superb quality.

This notable acquisition is carved from the lovely green-toned limestone of the Andhradeśa² (Pl. xxxvi). In the thickness of the slab, on the right proper side, are the remains of two lenticular mortises. The slab has split vertically, probably by accident, thus cutting the mortises roughly in two. The left proper side has broken away, and taken with it the left arm of the figure. At the top of the slab, on the flat surface, may still be seen faint vestiges of an inscription of two lines. The aksharas *ta* and possibly *cha*, in early Brāhmī, may still be made out. The figure appears to be standing under a fruiting tree, and holds a bunch of lotuses and lotus-pods in her right hand. The slab is cut in a shallow curve to enclose the head of the figure—an unusual feature in early Andhradeśa sculpture. The head-dress is again unusually elaborate. Above the line of the hair may be seen a wimple with raised folds. Across the head and worn in the fashion of an 'Alice band' is a crescent ornament with four projecting 'pins' on each side. The high centre piece seems to consist of addorsed makara-heads supporting a circular ornament. The two arms of the crescent itself seem also to be drawn from the mouths of makaras. The woman wears heavy earrings, two necklaces, double

wristbands, and armbands embellished with a cobra's raised hood. Remains of a girdle and the fold of a dhoti may be seen at the hip on the right proper side.

The two lenticular mortises on our slab show that it was originally intended for use as a pillar in a railing which surrounded a stūpa. Rail pillars carved with large scale male and female figures are common enough in north India, at Bhārhut and Mathurā for example. No examples have, however, been found in the Andhradeśa, where the rail pillar is always decorated with a full and two half lotuses. Several examples of this type of rail pillar, from Amarāvati, may be seen in the Front Hall of the Museum. If our piece as it now stands, was a rail pillar, it must be accepted as unique. There are indications, however, that though first intended as a pillar and perhaps used as such, its original decoration was cleaned off, and the piece was then cut down, recarved and used for a different purpose. Mackenzie, in his well-known volume of drawings of the Amarāvati Stūpa, shows two slabs from what he called the 'inner enclosure', which was in fact the drum of the Stūpa.³ The slabs which cased the drum were about 5 ft. high. The Mackenzie pieces each show a large scale female figure standing under a torana. Though this type of slab has not survived at Amarāvati, a drum slab carved with a male figure, left hand on hip and right holding an offering of flowers, has been discovered at Goli.⁴ Both the Goli slab and ours represent a type of so-called 'donor' figure, as found in the north-west Deccan on the screens of the great Caitya caves at Kārla (about A.D. 100) and Kanheri (last quarter of second century A.D.). There the male figure has a female companion, the group being called in the Kārla inscriptions 'mithuna'. The Goli slab is 5 ft. 3 in. high, its sculptured surface measuring 4 ft. 3 in. The sculptured surface of our piece was probably 5 ft. when complete. It is possible that the two slabs belong together and were placed on either side of the usual form of drum slab decorated with a stūpa, or at the returns of an āyaka-platform. If the facial types seem markedly dissimilar, it must be remembered that the surface of the Goli piece is still sound and sharp, while burial has blurred the modelling of ours. If the provenance of our piece is not Goli, it is at least contemporary with the Goli stūpa, which is generally accepted as lying at the very end of the early period in the Andhradeśa, about A.D. 300 to 350. The projecting 'pins' in the head-dress may be compared with those worn by a female musician at Goli.⁵ The heavy earrings, the necklace and the studded wristbands are also those of Goli. The armbands with the cobra projections are also a unique and late feature. Finally, the form of the akshara *ta* in the fragmentary inscription may be compared with that on a Goli drum slab.⁶

DOUGLAS BARRETT

¹ Douglas Barrett, 'The Later School of Amarāvati and its Influences', *Art and Letters* (Royal India and Pakistan Society), vol. xxviii, no. 2, 1954.

² Registration no. 1955, 10-17, 1. Height (of sculptured surface): 3 ft. 0½ in. Breadth: 2 ft. Width: 6 in.

³ Illustrated by James Fergusson, *Tree and*

Serpent Worship, London, 1873, pl. lxxxv. The figure on the right wears a head-dress with addorsed makara heads.

⁴ T. N. Ramachandran, *Buddhist Sculptures from a Stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District*,

Madras, 1929, pl. ix, no. 6.

⁵ T. N. Ramachandran, op. cit., pl. vi. Frieze no. 2.

⁶ T. N. Ramachandran, op. cit., pl. x.

A SETO VASE OF THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1185-1333)

THE history of the Seto Kilns [a pottery centre so famous in Japan that it has given the name *Seto-mono* ('things of Seto') to all subsequent Japanese ceramic products] has not yet been unravelled, and will remain imperfect until their kiln sites have been scientifically excavated. The Museum has up to date possessed no example of the rare Seto stoneware vases of the thirteenth century, and the recent acquisition of such a piece fills an important gap in the collections (Pl. xxxvii).

This vase is decorated with incised *tomoe* designs (three commas grouped together to form a circle) under a streaky olive green glaze; one hesitates to describe these whorls as 'stamped', as they appear to vary slightly in size and composition. Owing to its decoration this vase belongs to a small group, of which only some ten pieces are known to exist in Japan and of these no other is known to have left that country. A very similar vase, of slightly stouter build is reproduced in *The Catalogue of Japanese Ceramic Masterpieces*.¹ The Japanese text does not give the owner or whereabouts of this specimen but states that it is Seto ware and of the late thirteenth century, and that the design of *tomoe* is stamped and not engraved. Among other examples attributed to this kiln in the same volume is a vase of slightly different shape belonging to Mr. Takakichi Aso, with an inscription 'the 2nd year of Einin (1294)'.² Mr. Mayuyama informs me that three other dated examples of Seto ware of this period are known to exist; a pair of vases dated to the first year of *Showa* (1312) in the Hakusan Shrine in Gifu Prefecture,³ and a vase with a wide mouth, which has been excavated from a tomb which has been dated to the *Kareki* era (1326-8) of the Kamakura period, which is in the National Museum, Tokyo. Apart from our vase, and two vases in America (one in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the other in Seattle Art Museum), and an incomplete vase in Paris, it is doubtful whether any examples of these Seto vases of the thirteenth century have ever left Japan.

According to Japanese records kilns established in the Owari province, were in receipt of an imperial subsidy as early as the *Konin* period (810-23), and in the *Saiko* period (854-6) it has been suggested that a kiln was established in the

neighbourhood of Seto, from which the Seto wares originated; but the site of this kiln has never been established or its wares identified. There is a tradition in Japan that small unglazed pottery dishes (*Yametsuke*) were made in this district from early times; while small bowls (*yamahai*), which reveal accidental traces of glaze, are attributed to kilns in this district, and said to date from the Heian period (781-858). Toshiro, the father of pottery, as he is known in Japan, and who is spoken of as living at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, is rumoured to have worked at Seto early in the thirteenth century. He remains, however, a mythical figure, to whom many pieces of stoneware, usually tea-jars, have been attributed, although no authentic example of his wares survives. Accounts of his life vary and the most detailed information, inscribed on his memorial at Seto is derived from hearsay; quite uncorroborated and of comparatively recent date. There is no reason to associate any of these Seto vases of the late Kamakura period with his name; for he is generally believed to have died about 1249. Nevertheless, on a site on one of the hills in this district, which goes under the name locally of *Toshiro Kama* (the Toshiro kiln), Mr. Walter Weinberger, in February 1956, picked up surface fragments somewhat similar to our vase. This site was only separated by a valley road from the famous Tsubaki Kiln site, of which Mr. Mikiya Akatsuka has written

In the centre of the triangle formed by Seto, Akatsu and Shinano is situated the famous Tsubaki kiln site, and if one draws a circle with a diameter of about one *ri* (nearly 2½ miles) from this site, most of the kiln sites (i.e. of early Seto) are within this circle. . . . I should say that there are over 300 kilns, but many sites have been lost owing to the opening of roads, railways, and drainage; today about two hundred remain.⁴

There must be a large number of kiln sites which were active in the Heian, Kamakura, and Muromachi periods in this area; among them Mayuyama mentions the Hyakume, Matsudome, and Kamabora kiln sites, as producing Seto stoneware of fine quality. He believes that our vase may have come from the Hyakume kiln site; for among fragments from this site belonging to Mr. Tokuro Kato and the Seto Ceramic Laboratory illustrated in *Oriental Ceramics* is one decorated with *tomoe* designs.⁵ But to my knowledge none of these kiln sites has as yet been scientifically excavated; and Mr. Weinberger on his visit found the neighbourhood overgrown with scrub, although he was told by a local potter that the authorities had scheduled the neighbourhood for investigation.

The Japanese are known to have imported Chinese ceramics both in the Heian (781-858) and Fujiwara (859-1180) periods, when they are said to have been in communication with the Yüeh Kilns at Shang Lin-hu. Among these imported Chinese porcelains and stonewares it was the *Hisokei* ('Secret colour', i.e. Yüeh ware) of the Five Dynasties and later the *Aoji* (celadon wares) and *Tem-moku* (Ch'ien ware) of the Sung, which the Japanese particularly favoured and

endeavoured to imitate. Certainly the colour of these thirteenth-century Seto vases does bear some relation to their Yüeh and northern celadon ancestors, although their thin streaky glazes and their incised decoration fall far short of the pieces they sought to copy. Yet the shape of our vase with its high shoulders and its short neck with its sharply flanged collar seems to derive its appearance more from its Chinese *Ying Ch'ing* contemporaries than any celadon. And there is in the Museum's collection a *mei p'ing* vase of this *Ying Ch'ing* ware decorated with an incised design of whorls, and dated by Mr. Gray to the thirteenth-fourteenth century,⁶ to which our Seto vase bears a distinct resemblance in shape and in the technique of its decoration.

There seems to be two distinct types of these Seto vases. The first of these, to which the Boston vase belongs, is a medium fine grey stoneware, decorated with a pale olive-green streaky glaze, which has sometimes flaked off in places. Fragments of this group have been given to the Museum in 1954 by S. Gian Vincenzo Soro, late of the Italian Embassy, Tokyo, and G. St. G. M. Gompertz in 1957 (Pl. xxxviii *d*) and in 1956 by Colonel J. G. Figgess, Military Attaché of the British Embassy, Tokyo (Pl. xxxviii *a, c*). Complete pieces of this class appear to rare. This group is usually described by the Japanese under the term *Ko Seto* (Old Seto). The second group, to which our vase and that in the Seattle Art Gallery belong, is more often illustrated, and is said to have been copied. It is characterized by more deeply incised designs, and bolder and darker olive-green and yellow-brown glazes, which tend to run to the foot in streaky passages and to accumulate in blotches on the body of the piece. A fragment of this group was recently given to the Museum by Mr. Walter Weinberger; unfortunately its history is unrecorded (Pl. xxxviii *b*). This group is sometimes described by the Japanese as *Ko Seto* and sometimes as 'Seto ware of the Kamakura period', and although there is scarcely any perceptible difference between the bodies of the two groups, the latter might be described as slightly harder, and the ware itself perhaps slightly later in date. Excavations may one day reveal that the two families came from different kilns, situated not far from each other and differing perhaps by fifty years in date.

SOAME JERMYNS

¹ *Catalogue of Japanese Ceramic Masterpieces*, edited by Okuda, Koyama, and Hayashiya, and published by the Toto Bunka Co., Tokyo, 1954, pl. 27.

² *Ibid.*, fig. 49.

³ These vases are illustrated in *Oriental Ceramics*, vol. ix, no. 3, August 1937, in the 'Earlier

Seto Number', pls. 2 and 3.

⁴ Mikiya Akatsuka, 'Earliest Seto Ware', *Oriental Ceramics*, vol. ix, no. 3, August 1937.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. 7.

⁶ Basil Gray, *Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, Faber & Faber, 1953, pl. 81.

FURTHER NOTE ON A WEST AFRICAN DRUM

IN a note on 'A Drum Probably from the Ivory Coast' in *B.M.Q.*, xv, pp. 112, 113, with Pl. XLIV *b*, it was surmised (chiefly on the evidence of the attribution to the Ivory Coast of a piece in similar style from the collection of M. de Vlaminck) that this drum, supported on a kneeling figure of a mother with her son, came 'from an as yet unidentified group (tribe, sub-tribe, or village) in the central zone of the Ivory Coast, perhaps to the north of the Baule'. At the same time it was noted that there was little discernible affinity with known Baule work, and in fact the tentative attribution was unsupported by internal evidence.

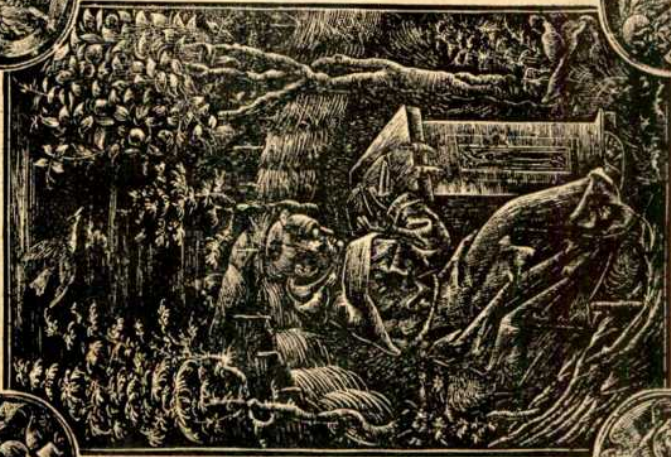
This guarded conjecture, and the attribution (in Maes and Lavachery, *L'Art nègre*, Brussels, 1930) on which it was largely based, have proved to be ill founded. Comparison with numerous pieces in the same style observed during a tour of Swiss ethnographical museums (where, for reasons of missionary history, most examples of the style appear to be concentrated) shows that the drum is in fact from the southern Baga tribe of French Guinea, or possibly from the neighbouring Susu, whose culture is very similar. Baga style is represented in the literature of African art almost exclusively by the works of the northern groups near the border of Portuguese Guinea, and especially by the great *nimba* masks of the Simo society, which are among the most magnificent and imaginative of all African sculptures; the characteristic conception of this style is an enormous forward projection of the head with a salient nose suggestive of a parrot's beak (see, for example, *The Webster Plass Collection of African Art*, British Museum, 1953, pl. VII). This bold conception is wholly absent in the southern style, which, on the contrary, is marked by restraint and even severity of line and form. If, as seems likely, the two styles have a common origin, we may surmise that the northern style differentiated itself by a kind of progressive hypertrophy over a long period.

Since the attribution of the drum to the southern Baga or the Susu was arrived at, Mme Denise Paulme-Schaeffner, head of the Département d'Afrique Noire at the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, who recently carried out field research in the Baga country, has confirmed that works clearly belonging to the same tradition, though not of comparable quality, are still to be seen there. Indeed, the British Museum specimen may well be the finest and most elaborate extant example of the style.

W. B. FAGG

Pomerium de sanctis.

fratris Pelbarti ordinis
sancti Francisci



Stellarium Corone

benedicte marie virginis
in laude eius pro in
gulis predicati
omnibus elegantissime
comparatum.



XXIX. a. PELBARTUS, POMERIUM DE SANCTIS. Unsigned. [J. Otmar, Augsburg, not before 1502.]
b. PELBARTUS, STELLARIUM. Signed by J. Otmar, Augsburg, 1502.

ορ· ἀρ' οὐκ ἀπερθε
ἔσται πτωχὸς καὶ
λοιμὸς ὁμοματοῦ
τωρ· μακροὶ ορ·
τί τοῦτο· διηγάδι
τὸ τοῦτο·

[illegible]

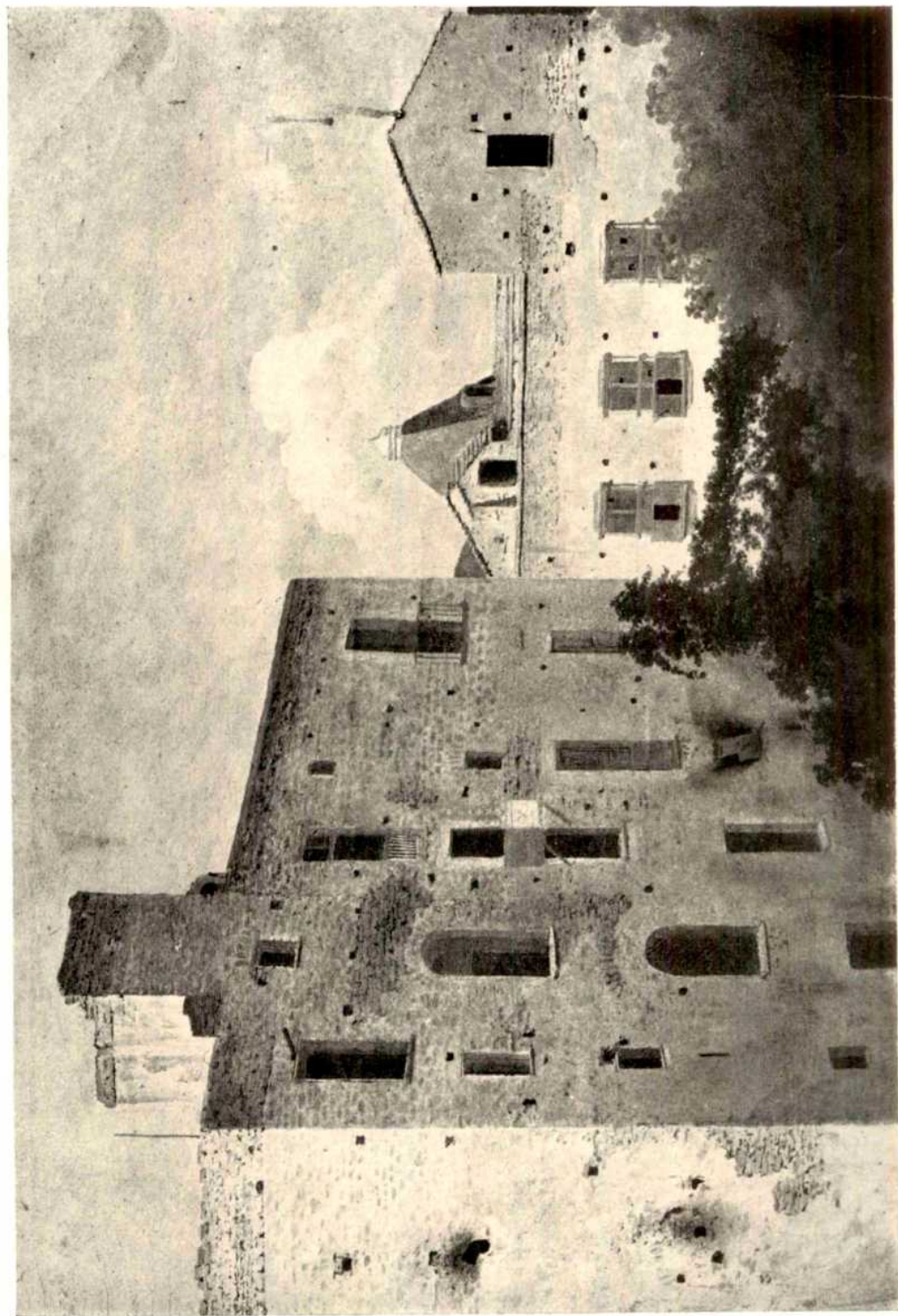
+ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὅς
 καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν
 εὐχόμεν
 VII:



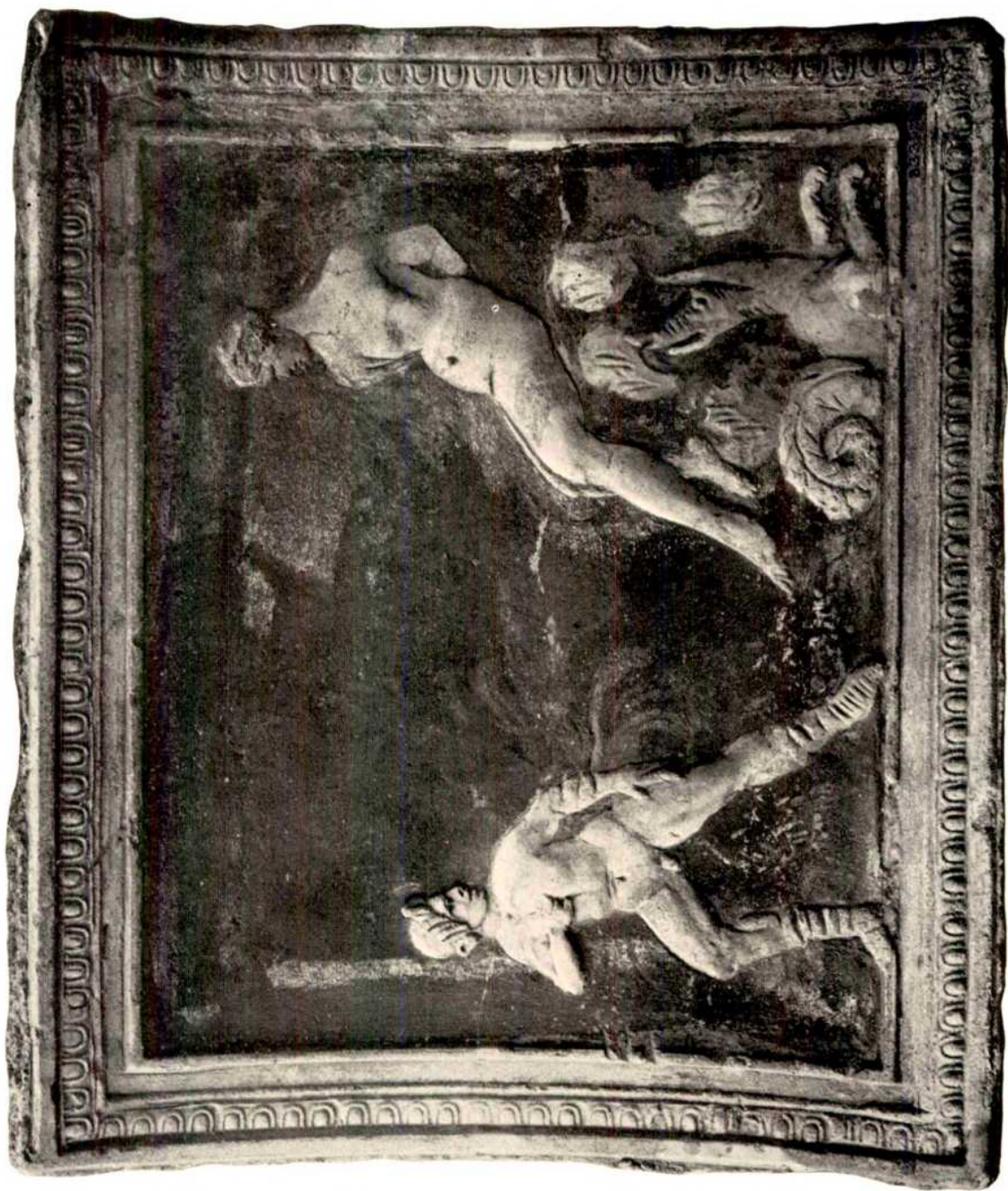
† EIPINIKOC†
† EICAMΦIAONGI
KON:.


 ΚΟΝ:·
 ρηληφιλη. τὸ
 γλυκὺ πορρῶ γμαλι
 ὄρομα· ὁμῶς ἔδο
 καπῶ λαῶ καὶ αἰπῶ
 ραιῶρ· οὐκ οἶδα
 ἄπαρ ἀπαίτησιν
 σιαμφωνίῳ καὶ αἰ
 ριαρ τοῦ παῖτος· ἀλλ' ἄ
 μελδλημοσίαν ὡς ἦ
 κασ· αἰθ' ἔχου μέρα
 ἐκ τοῦ ὅμαρ τυρι.
 ὡς ἔστι καὶ μᾶζον ἄρα
 ἡμῖν τοῖς καπῶ ἡμῖν.
 Γερηληφιλη. τὸ ὅμο
 μελδλημοσίαν καὶ
 λῶσιον· ἡν ὁ ὅς·





XXXIII. THOMAS JONES: HOUSES AT NAPLES.



XXXIV. A ROMAN STUCCO RELIEF.



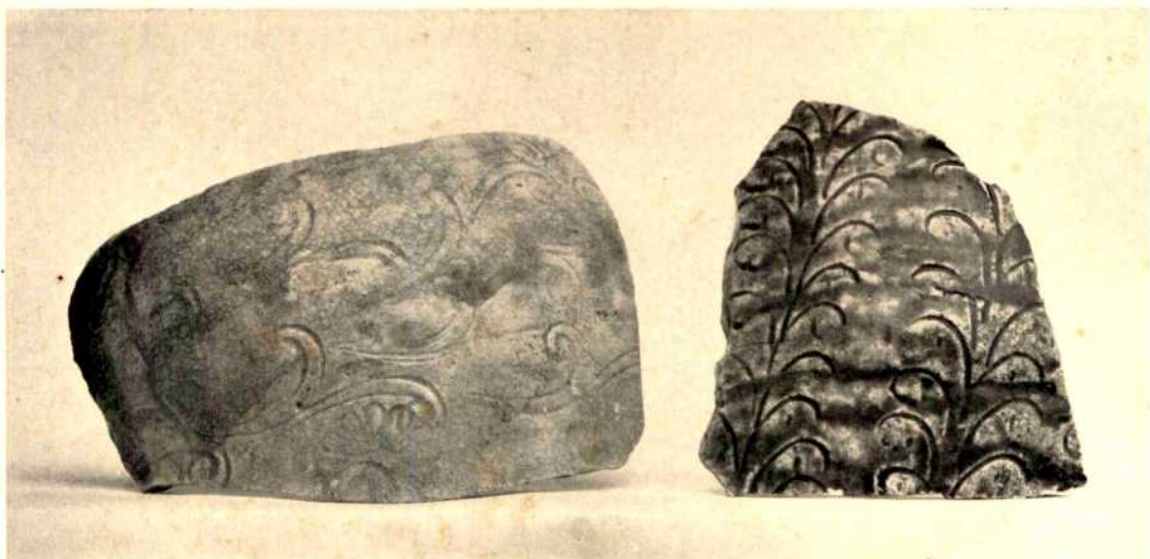
XXXV. LUCANIAN THEATRE VASE.



XXXVI. FEMALE DONOR. Probably from Goli, Andhradeśa. About A.D. 300.



XXXVII. SETO VASE OF THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (A.D. 1185-1333).



a

b



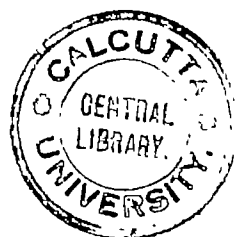
c

d

XXXVIII. FRAGMENTS OF SETO VASES.

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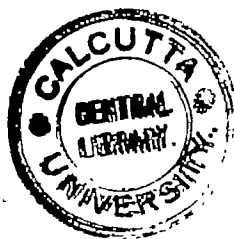
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- XXXVI. Female donor. Probably from Goli, Andhradesa. About A.D. 300
- XXXVII. Seto Vase of the Kamakura period (A.D. 1185-1333)
- XXXVIII. Fragments of Seto Vases

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